Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-100
Thursday
25 May 1989

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NVA, GSFG Joint Troop Exercise Observed

AU2405155689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 89 p 2

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—On Friday [19 May], the 40 observers of the maneuvers from 20 CSCE signatory states, who have been in the GDR since Tuesday, were following the action at the Wittstock training area during the joint troop exercises of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army [NVA]. The generals, officers, and diplomats were briefed on the situation and the course of the defense actions.

The head of the exercise, Major General Stanislav Rumyantsev, commander of a GSFG unit, told ADN that the participants in the exercise had acted with combat-readiness and military skill during the past few days.

On the same day, and after having successfully carried out their order, more units and forces were transferred to their garrisons from the exercise areas of Magdeburg, Brandenburg, Neustrelitz, and Pritzwalk. The international guests were able to directly observe overland movement and rail transportation. Thus, in the course of the day the number of army members in the exercise area fell below 17,000 men. The observer activity of the foreign representatives thus ended in line with the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

On behalf of the GDR Government, and on the order of Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, the observers were given a cordial send off this evening in Potsdam by Major General Rudolf Magnitzke, deputy chief of the NVA Main Staff. He stated that they had had many opportunities to see for themselves that the Stockholm documents had been adhered to by the GDR. From the talks, it was made clear to the observers that the army members of the forces involved wished a peaceful future and felt no hatred toward other people, he said.

CEMA Executive Committee Meets in Moscow

Poland's Sekula Comments

AU2405161189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 89 p 9

[Statement given to PAP by Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula during the 131st meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee in Moscow on 18 May]

[Text] The deputy premier said that the committee considered three main issues.

The first is related to the principles involved in fixing standards. It is a CEMA rule that all decisions are made unanimously. Several countries, including Poland, have proposed that this practice be discontinued. It is important that, subject to special exception, standards are established by a majority of votes. This is especially important in our opinion. If we do not do this, standards will always be lowered and adapted to the level of the least developed countries of our community. This in turn will result in us producing goods within CEMA which are unsaleable. We must at long last begin to draw conclusions from the fact that the world has moved on, and has completely different demands. In our race for technological progress we must not impose limitations on ourselves, lapse into smug self-satisfaction, and fix separate standards, moreover at the lowest level of utility and quality.

This issue can be resolved quite simply. It is the rule in the council that member countries need not consult each other in every matter. If an agreement is concluded by several of them, for example five or seven, it is only binding on those who are parties to it, the others can join at any time. This is the way to resolve the issue of standards. Standards would be adopted by a majority of votes of the interested countries. Their adoption within each individual country would be solely dependent on that country's own decision.

The next issue is the preparations for the 45th session of CEMA in Sofia. The main subject of the session will be to give new incentives to the process of integration in the socialist community, and to increase the pace of the development of cooperation.

Coupled with this the Executive Committee has to prepare the appropriate draft decisions. A special working group is already working on this, but we are not satisfied with its progress. This is no fault of the experts involved. The problem arises mainly because of the vast differences in the views of individual countries concerning the proposed reform activity.

This issue is of the highest importance today. In 1992 we will see the full economic union of the EEC, whereas mutual transactions within CEMA are declining, and it is very often easier to trade outside CEMA than within it. It is high time to radically change this situation.

During the current session, a special meeting restricted to the heads of the individual delegations, was held with the aim of a sincere exchange of views. This highlighted the existence of the natural divergences, which stem above all from the differing levels of advancement of the process of reform in each national economy. It also highlighted the fact that all of us, no longer insisting on a timetable of essential activity, strongly support the principle that the basis of our relationships must be hard economics—that is, world market prices, true currency exchange rates, a proper settlement of accounts, and real money which in the future would be fully convertible.

The adoption of such a system governing cooperation is necessary, bearing in mind that the foundation of each country's economic reforms is the principle of independence of the enterprises. This, however, has the following consequences. Independent enterprises cannot be

ordered to do anything. The state has at its disposal only three subtle instruments of influence: its tax policy, its credit policy, and its customs policy. Thus, if we want an enterprise to pursue a particular line of exports, or enter into partnership with the appropriate partners, we can only achieve this in one way; we have to ensure that such activity will be highly remunerative, under the conditions of a real settlement of accounts, and under the conditions of hard economics.

If we succeed in creating such conditions, then the enterprises, seeking profits, will themselves enter into economic links which we consider advantageous. Quite simply, it will be profitable for them to do so. To say it in another, general way, CEMA has to be transformed into a council for mutual economic development. It should become an area within which one can do good business, reap high benefits, and within which partners will lend mutual support to one another; not from sentiment, but because it is to their benefit to do so. If CEMA takes on this shape, then it has a chance of becoming a modern, vital, and dynamic structure in the 1990's, which will be of use to our national economies. If not, then it will continue to be a fossilized and bureaucratic organism; living on for many years, but whose usefulness and significance will decline day by day; and the Executive Council will find itself on the sidelines. To be blunt, reality and needs will diverge further and further.

Efficient Cooperation Sought

AU2405154089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 89 p 7

[Jan Tihlarik dispatch: "Seeking More Efficient Cooperation; CEMA Executive Committee Concludes Its 131st Session"]

[Text] **Moscow (By our reporter)—The CEMA Executive Committee concluded its 131st session by signing a communique at CEMA's Moscow headquarters on Thursday [18 May]. The session was attended by representatives of all member countries and, in line with an agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government, by a Yugoslav representative. Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and the CSSR's permanent CEMA representative, led the Czechoslovak delegation.**

During the 3 days of its negotiations, the session prepared a number of important materials for the coming CEMA session in Sofia; it also adopted a communique.

At the final press briefing, CEMA Secretary Viacheslav Sychov stated that the participants in the session are leaving for home with the good feeling that it had successfully cleared up a number of issues which have consolidated the diverging views among the member states on restructuring the mechanism of economic cooperation. But the restructuring rate is unsatisfactory, and the present mechanism is not helping to make cooperation more efficient. Still, the important thing is that **all member countries have grasped how essential it is to restructure radically. Hence the present intensive search for ways to enhance the efficiency of cooperation.**

Sychov then briefed the press on the Executive Committee's decision **to hold the planned international conference on the prospects of CEMA-EEC cooperation on 14-15 October 1989.**

Asked whether the CEMA summit would take place this year, Executive Committee Chairman Andrey Lukanov from the People's Republic of Bulgaria stated: "I agree with the view that a strong political incentive is essential. Without a united political will expressed on a summit level we cannot reach convincing results in restructuring the mechanism and socioeconomic integration. We in the Executive Committee believe that this session will be held, and that it will help us to resolve these issues."

Apart from the criticism which also prevailed in the last few years, the significant factor in our present deliberations lay in the proposals submitted for a conceptual solution of problems. In my view, this makes this session substantially different from former sessions, said Jaromir Obzina in a talk with Czechoslovak journalists at the close of the CEMA Executive Committee's 131st session.

He went on to say that on Tuesday and Wednesday mornings the Executive Committee held closed sessions for unifying preparations for the coming 45th CEMA session in Bulgaria in all 10 CEMA member-countries. The main aim was to make an objective appraisal of the CEMA activities last year, but also in the entire 4-year period. It would have been illusory to assume that such an analysis and understanding would not bring forth divergent views. **But the important thing is that full unity could be achieved when the report for CEMA's Sofia session was being discussed.** The second closed session on Wednesday dealt with the mechanism of directing economic cooperation, integration, and CEMA activity and was meant to ascertain the individual states' stands on these weighty issues on the basis of their economic situation, development level, and interest in integration projects, both within CEMA and in the world division of labor.

When asked by RUDE PRAVO about the fact that the CSSR is the only socialist country to produce CD-players and recorders, the CSSR deputy premier stated: If this production in the TESLA Litovel plant is to be effective, and the binding CSSR Government resolution to create prerequisites in the Ninth 5-Year Plan for fully meeting the needs of the domestic market is to be fulfilled, then we must provide for an annual production of about 450,000 players and 5 to 6 million recorders. This is an extremely complicated task, which is why we have proposed specific cooperation with the Soviet Union. The assembly of appropriate facilities is under way in Tallin, and production is being considered in Moscow and Novosibirsk. We recommend that a possible joint solution be found this very year.

When asked by a CTK special reporter about the progress in accomplishing the tasks of the Comprehensive Program of the CEMA Countries' Scientific-Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, J. Obzina stated that the program is an extensive project that is unprecedented in CEMA practices. The endeavors to criticize it remind us of the stage in the past when one merely criticized the shortcomings in CEMA's activities, without analyzing them or making suggestions for rectifying them. Only some 120 of the approximately 3,000 tasks of the comprehensive program have become part of production to date, he pointed out. This is not enough; still, we also have about 500 tasks solved on the level of prototypes. The problems really lie in the material and financial provisions for the program.

Socialist economic integration is not synonymous with CEMA. Thus, **whenever it proves impossible to go via the CEMA organization, we will have to conclude agreements on identical integration problems with five socialist countries, because we cannot wait for CEMA to reach a concensus,** J. Obzina stressed in the talk.

—The Czechoslovak delegation, led by J. Obzina, returned to Prague from Moscow on Thursday

CEMA Plans Joint Manufacture of Airliners

AU2405160689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "CEMA Countries' Project: Joint Production of Aircraft of a New Generation"]

[Text] Moscow—According to information from the CEMA Secretariat in Moscow, an interstate agreement on cooperation in the production of a long-range airliner, the IL-96-300 is ready for signing.

The airliner of the new generation will carry 300 passengers on routes of between 4,000 and 9,000 km, and in some cases up to 11,000 km. It will be produced in the Soviet Union, and the other states participating in the project—Bulgaria, the CSSR, Yugoslavia, Cuba, the GDR, and Poland—will deliver individual parts.

Another planned international project involves cooperation in production of the TU-204 passenger plane, in which Bulgaria, the CSSR, Yugoslavia, Hungary, the GDR, and the USSR will participate. This model should put Soviet production lines at the disposal of the participant states beginning 1992. The TU-204 is to carry 214 passengers up to 3,500 km.

The assessment of the two projects is envisaged at the next session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Engineering, which will be held in Hungary.

CEMA Holds Session on Construction Sector

AU2305104989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] The 15th session of plenipotentiary representatives of the contractual sides to the agreement on multilateral international cooperation of the CEMA member countries and Yugoslavia in the exchange of information in the field of machinery and equipment for the construction sector and the construction materials industry ended with the signing of a protocol in Brno on Friday [19 May]. The session was attended by representatives of Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the USSR.

Warsaw Pact Countries Address NATO Members

WA2305144089

For Moscow TASS in English coverage of the Warsaw Pact address to NATO, please see the WORLDWIDE ISSUES section of the 23 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Force Limitation Proposal Submitted in Vienna

LD2305132989 Prague CTK in English
1235 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Vienna May 23 (CTK correspondent)—Head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Vienna discussions on conventional armed forces in Europe Ambassador Ladislav Balcar submitted here today on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty states a proposal providing for the upper limit of forces of the two groupings.

The measures should be realized within five to six years in all six categories proposed by the Warsaw Treaty states, he said.

CSSR's Baclar Speaks

AU2405154689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 May 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Contribution by CSSR Delegation Head"]

[Text] Vienna (By CTK reporter)—The Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe continued yesterday [18 May] with a plenary session. The representatives of 23 member states of the two military alliances participating in this disarmament forum are currently considering the projects submitted by the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which should lead to an agreement.

The scope that is currently being opened for the activities of individual work groups should also help to make the course of the talks more dynamic. Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, yesterday came up with a proposal which further elaborates the project submitted by the Warsaw Pact states on setting numerical ceilings for all main destabilizing categories, i.e. for troop strengths, the tactical airforce, and also combat helicopters, tanks, guns, armored personnel carriers, and combat infantry vehicles.

Ladislav Balcar, head of the CSSR delegation, spoke in support of the Soviet proposal, calling it a significant constructive step toward preparing the future agreement. The realization of this step, he said, signified the achievement of the main purpose of current negotiations—to consolidate stability and security in Europe. The CSSR delegation head particularly underscored that it is essential to set an upper limit not only for military technology, but also for troop strengths. He said that troops and armament are an indivisible whole, an inseparable and simultaneously extremely important part of conventional armed forces. Their typical feature is their ability to conquer and retain territory. That is why we deem it essential not only to conduct negotiations about this category, but also to anchor its reduction and limitation in specific form. We believe that the reduction of military personnel cannot be left to the functioning of some automatic, unspecified mechanism, the Czechoslovak ambassador stressed, and continued: On the one hand, NATO states say that armament reduction must inevitably lead to a reduction of personnel, while on the other hand they do not want to do so by limiting the numerical strengths of armed forces by means of firm final upper limits.

If no upper limit is set for the troops, then certain dangerous destabilizing effects can appear. This could result in the released troops spilling over into categories not included in the agreement, and thus in the creation of new asymmetries, Ladislav Balcar said.

SCINTEIA on Halting Missile Modernization

AU2405111889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1024 GMT 24 May 89

["Excerpts of Commentary in the Daily SCINTEIA of 24 May: 'For the Halting of Nuclear Arms Modernization Actions'"]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 24/5/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speeches lately and in declarations made at the recent meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the dangers entailed by the actions of reactuation of the nuclear arms race, especially by the NATO plans for the so-called modernization of the short-range tactical nuclear missiles. The Romanian president cautioned more than once about the euphoria induced by certain steps taken toward disarmament. Or, the fact is that, after the removal of the medium-range missiles under the accord signed in this connection, the world arsenals of nuclear missiles still retain tremendous amounts of weapons—over 95 percent—which keep practically unchanged what the experts term "the overkilling capacity," meaning the capacity to destroy the whole of mankind several times over, to destroy the very conditions of life on our planet. Under the circumstances, the peoples were entitled to hope for and expect progress toward the diminution of the arsenals in existence.

Unfortunately, as President Nicolae Ceausescu showed at the big civic rally in Drobeta-Turnu Severin, "it seems that some have got frightened by the prospect of disarmament, of loss of profits from the policy of arming, but also of possibilities to promote the policy of nuclear blackmail, the policy of strength and dictate and they have actually started to draw back."

There is no other way for mankind's survival than the complete liquidation of the nuclear combat means, of the chemical weapons, of other mass destruction weapons, the radical reduction of the conventional weapons, the renunciation of the policy of outer space militarization. Disarmament is today a vital requisite of the whole of mankind's future and life. In consideration of this requirement, Romania's president expressed the whole Romanian people's thoughts and aspirations, urged all

peoples in Europe, all political forces, governments, heads of state to say a resolute no to nuclear and chemical weapons, to work for ensuring the peaceful future of mankind.

Expressing their unanimous adhesion to this enthusing appeal, a large number of mass and public organizations, representing the broadest categories of working people in Romania, address in turn these days to governments and similar organizations in the NATO member countries appeals voicing their worry about the plans of modernization of the tactical nuclear weapons and demand that everything possible be done for those plans and any measure meant to stimulate the arming spiral to be given up. The appeals stress on good reason that the modernization of those missiles would annual the results scored so far on the road to nuclear disarmament, replacing one destructive power by another, more sophisticated and dangerous one, would entail unforeseeable consequences on a European and world plane.

The tendency of some of the Atlantic circles to stick at any cost to "nuclear deterrence" or to the outlook of "flexible retaliation" which means the use of nuclear weapons in certain circumstances, is in utter contradiction with the fundamental interests of peace, with the requirements of the peoples, of public opinion for the definitive renunciation of the nuclear missiles, irrespective of their range.

That is why, on reiterating at the Executive Political Committee meeting Romania's firm stand against the modernization of the short-range nuclear missiles, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need for the NATO to give up any decision and measure toward the modernization of these weapons. Romania thinks that resolute action must be taken for the beginning of negotiations on eliminating them for good.

Firmly sustaining this desideratum, the necessity of complete removal of all nuclear weapons by 2000, Romania's mass and public organizations reiterate a fundamental option of the Romanian people. The appeals of these days, that add to the great and widely reverberated actions of past years, are one more proof of the steadiness in which Romania's citizens mean to work in support of the great imperative of disarmament and peace.

Fitting in this line is also the appeal of the Warsaw Treaty participant states to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization states, conveyed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania to the latter's diplomatic representatives. On the eve of its summit session, the NATO is urged to intensify the efforts, the political dialogue for the halting of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, nuclear above all, for the elimination of all mass destruction weapons and the substantive reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons, as well as of the military expenditures, for overcoming Europe's division, through the concomitant abolition of the two political-military alliances, for the consolidation of confidence and the deepening of the collaboration among states.

It is more necessary than ever now that abstention and lucid-mindedness be shown, that nothing be spared in order to have reason, sound judgement prevail in view of achieving wide-embracing accords and understanding, up to the peoples' expectations.

Austrian Foreign Ministry Delegation Arrives

AU2205185589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, a delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria, headed by General Secretary Dr Thomas Klestil, arrived in our country today for an official and friendly visit.

Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other comrades went to welcome the Austrian delegation at Rinas Airport. Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Austrian Republic, and Paul Leifer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, were also present.

Talks were also conducted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today between the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania headed by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, headed by General Secretary Dr Thomas Klestil. During the talks, which took place in a warm atmosphere, the friendly relations that exist between Albania and Austria, and ways and means of further developing them in economic fields, trade, transportation, culture, and other fields of mutual interest were discussed. Some aspects of the present situation in the Balkans and Europe were also discussed.

Korbeci Receives Delegation

AU2205185989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, received General Secretary Dr Thomas Klestil of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria this afternoon.

At this meeting, a common desire was expressed to find ways to further expand trading relations and economic cooperation between Albania and Austria. It was emphasized that the agreements, protocols, and programs signed in recent years, [words indistinct] that have been signed between our countries in the fields of trade, technology, and so forth will further promote bilateral cooperation. The Austrian delegation headed by Dr Thomas Kerstil was also received by Prof Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee for Culture and the Arts. During this meeting, it was pointed out that cultural, technical-scientific activities, and contacts among various institutions have increased in recent years. Prof Alfred Uci expressed the desire that our bilateral relations in these fields should develop still further.

Werner Heumeuller, member of the Austrian Chamber of Commerce, also conducted talks with the Albanian Chamber of Commerce.

Dode Welcomes Group

AU2305192489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Petro Dode, president of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, this morning received General Secretary Dr Thomas Klestil of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria. Comrade Petro Dode bid welcome to the Austrian visitors in the name of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and had a warm and friendly talk with them. Comrade Petro Dode noted the sentiments of friendship and affinity of the Albanian people for the Austrian people, as well as the friendly relations that exist between the two countries. He outlined for the Austrian visitors the efforts of the Albanian people and their successes during the years of the people's regime and the continuity of Albania's domestic and foreign policy in defense of freedom and national independence. He also stressed the possibilities that exist to find concrete forms and to further expand the relations of friendship and cooperation between Albania and Austria in various fields of mutual interest. He also mentioned the cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries and expressed his pleasure at the fact that a delegation of the Austrian Parliament will visit Albania soon.

Dr Thomas Klestil thanked Comrade Petro Dode for the warm welcome extended to the delegation he leads and expressed his appreciation for Albania's independent and consistent policy, for Albania's achievements in various fields, such as construction, education, and health services, and the well-being of the population, which has been rising constantly. He also expressed the predisposition of the Austrian side to extend bilateral cooperation, including exchanges of visits by parliamentary delegations.

The meeting was attended by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Rolanda Dhimitri, deputy head of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly; and deputies of the People's Assembly.

Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Vienna; and Paul Leifer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria in Tirana, were also present.

Embassy in Austria Sought

AU2405121689 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 24 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Albania Interested in Austrian Embassy; Austrians Visit Tirana"]

[Excerpts] Tirana—Ambassador Thomas Klestil, general secretary for foreign affairs, was received by Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile for a talk yesterday. [passage omitted]

Tirana has noted with displeasure that the Austrian ambassador to Belgrade is still coaccredited in Albania. Dr Peter Jankowitsch, chairman of the Nationalrat Foreign Affairs Committee, as the foreign policy spokesman of the strongest parliamentary party, has complained that Albania—apart from miniature and border states—is the only European country in which Austria does not have a diplomatic or consular representation.

Delegation Departs 23 May

AU2305192689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, led by General Secretary Dr Thomas Klestil, has concluded its official and friendly visit and left our country.

The delegation was bid farewell at Rinas Airport by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Vienna, and Paul Leifer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria in Tirana, were also present.

Leaders Attend Permet Anniversary Celebrations

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1330 GMT on 24 May carries a poorly received report on celebrations in the city of Permet on the 45th anniversary of the First Antifascist National Liberation Congress.

A reporter on the spot describes the scene at the Martyrs' Cemetery in Permet, where a large crowd is said to be waiting for the arrival of Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary, and other party and state leaders. The reporter says that Ramiz Alia arrives at the cemetery at 0700 GMT, accompanied by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member; Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and president of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front; and local leaders.

The reporter says Ramiz Alia and Simon Stefani lay a wreath in the name of the AWP Central Committee. More wreaths are laid by other party and state leaders. Alia and the other leaders are said to walk slowly past the rows of graves and then review a guard of honor. On their way back to the main city square, they walk through a new park. At 0800 GMT, says the reporter, Alia and the other party and state leaders appear on the balcony of the main hotel, greeting a large crowd assembled in the main square of the city. An unidentified local leader opens the rally, which is then addressed by Stefani. The report then carries a recording of the first 5 minutes of Stefani's speech. Stefani begins by recalling the historic significance of the Congress of Permet and its "original solution" to the question of power in postwar Albania. He also recalls the important role played by Enver Hoxha in organizing the Congress.

The reporter then summarizes the remainder of Stefani's speech, but reception becomes unmonitorable at this point.

Zhivkov Plans 'Working Visit' to Moscow in June
AU2405175689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] By mutual agreement, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, will make a working visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of June 1989.

Tanchev Examines Agrarian Union, BCP Relations
AU2405185989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 May 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council, by Gencho Boshnakov: "The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Assumes Its Responsibility in Restructuring"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Boshnakov] Comrade Tanchev, unity of action and cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] is based on historical traditions and achievements. The contribution of the BZNS to the people's long-standing struggles against monarchy and fascism, and to the consolidation of our nation's moral-political unity in the era of socialist construction is well-known. Can you describe and evaluate the new dimensions of the political platform of communist-agrarian unity under the conditions of our society's revolutionary renewal?

[Tanchev] The long-standing unity and unanimity of action between the BCP and the BZNS has strongly influenced our country's most recent history. This unity developed through all stages of the revolutionary process in our country and withstood the test of time. [passage omitted]

The Leninist policy of the BCP which was confirmed at the 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum more than ever before promoted the upsurge of the two parties' unity of action. This Leninist policy is most closely linked to the name and work of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. It was during the April decades [following the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum] that communists and united agrarians added the most glorious pages to the history of their cooperation. It was, precisely, the Leninist BCP policy that played a decisive role in rallying and uniting all generations and all former BZNS subunits for the historical victory of the ideals of fraternal, communist-agrarian unity, and for the upsurge of the socialist motherland. Today the BZNS is more united and cohesive than ever before. [passage omitted]

The question about the future role and meaning of BCP-BZNS cooperation at the stage of restructuring, which our country entered in a powerful and unique manner is fully justified. This question was answered by the BCP Central Committee Politburo and by the BZNS Permanent Board at their joint meeting held in March 1989.

The Politburo and the Permanent Board pointed out that they attach great importance to the joint work of communists and united agrarians in expanding the working people's creative efforts and in further building socialism according to the July Plenum Concept and to the decisions adopted by the December 1988 BCP Central Committee Plenum. [passage omitted]

The July Concept represents Bulgaria's contribution to the theory and practice of restructuring socialism. The process of renewal is taking place in other socialist countries. We attach particular importance to restructuring in the Soviet Union which is being implemented by the CPSU, headed by Comrade Gorbachev. Without this extensive restructuring in the most powerful socialist country, the restructuring process could not be successfully accomplished in our country.

The BZNS fully supports the decisions of the December 1988 BCP Central Committee Plenum which resolved crucial problems related to national economic management and organization. The company-based organization is a decisive factor in expanding and intensifying the restructuring process in all spheres. [passage omitted]

As a partner and ally of the BCP, the BZNS is aware of and assumes its responsibility for the successful accomplishment of restructuring. This confronts the BZNS with a new political test. We, the united agrarians, are, however, convinced that our organization will worthily contribute to the implementation of this historical achievement. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] How is the present cooperation between communists and united agrarians manifesting itself? How can you describe the new meaning of your joint work? Can you describe the main field of activities for this cooperation?

[Tanchev] The Politburo and the Permanent Board, at their aforementioned meeting, pointed out that the tasks of restructuring impose greater requirements on joint work between the BCP and the BZNS. This calls for considerable changes in the substance of our cooperation and makes it necessary to search for and to apply more effective forms of cooperation within the country, as well as in international relations. [passage omitted]

I would like to stress that patriotic education and the further unification of the Bulgarian nation is a profoundly democratic and humanitarian process, in line with the interests of the entire Bulgarian nation. It is not directed against any other country, or nation. This process is an integral part of the total restructuring process in our society, it is part of the implementation of the July Concept. The enhancement and consolidation

of Bulgarian national consciousness and the further unification of our nation are the basic factors of its development and are of essential importance for the implementation of our country's historical goals, for Bulgaria's transformation into a highly developed and civilized country.

The BZNS will continue to actively pursue its lofty and noble efforts devoted to the people's patriotic education.

[Boshnakov] The traditions of political pluralism are now assuming a new quality. The unity of action of the two major political parties in our country—the BCP and the BZNS—is solidly based on this principle. Could you describe how this unity of action manifests itself as an important factor in developing and enriching socialist pluralism?

[Tanchev] The BCP-BZNS is the basis of political pluralism in our country. This was stressed at the meeting between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and our Permanent Board.

It means that the BZNS, which is one of the oldest democratic peasant parties in Europe and will soon celebrate its 90th anniversary, is participating in the country's administration, along with the BCP. [passage omitted]

We are justified in stating that throughout the decades of people's government and under the specific, historical conditions, the relations between the BCP and the BZNS, were an example of socialist pluralism. This is a great contribution to the treasury of Bulgarian socialist democracy, a contribution that has assumed not only national, but even international dimensions. [passage omitted]

The traditions of pluralism on which the unity of action between BCP and BZNS is founded, are assuming a new quality and form of development today. [passage omitted]

However, we support a development of pluralism that serves the cause of socialism and contributes to the prevention of distortions in the political superstructure. The idea of socialist pluralism should not be abused for the purpose of destabilizing our society. Socialist pluralism means to create a bright and civilized social atmosphere in which constructive ideas should be promoted and the most direct paths toward the great goal—the triumph of socialism in our country—should be indicated.

[Boshnakov] Certain Western circles have recently once more suggested that the BZNS should assume other programmatic goals, differing from its present ones, in order to "prove" its independence. They claim that this is the only way for the BZNS to manifest itself as a true promoter of a pluralistic system in Bulgaria. What is your opinion on this question?

[Tanchev] I already explained our idea on the essence of socialist pluralism. I would add as follows: The construction of socialism is a historical ideal of our people. The Agrarian Union is an integral part of the people. It is quite natural that it should worthily contribute to the implementation of this ideal.

The long decades of socialist construction proved that the BZNS never left the political scene, and as regards its current tasks and goals, our party has by far outstripped the visions of its founders, by developing as an independent and modern political organization.

The active participation of the BZNS in implementing the program of socialist construction has enhanced its role and international prestige. [passage omitted]

The fact that the BZNS has the same programmatic goals as the BCP—namely building socialism and promoting Bulgaria as a highly developed and civilized country—is by no means an obstacle, but rather a guarantee that we are expanding socialist democracy and that we will establish a civic society and a law-governed state, that we will successfully advance into the future. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] Agriculture is the natural "field of activities" for the BZNS and for communist-agrarian cooperation. How would you describe the tasks of the Agrarian Union and the role of the two parties in implementing the new agrarian policy mapped out by the BCP Central Committee Plenum? What is the attitude of the BZNS toward the participation of united agrarians in company-based organization and in other forms of organizing and managing agriculture?

[Tanchev] The May Plenum of the BCP Central Committee was not an ordinary, routine plenum. It developed and enriched the agrarian policy on the basis of the July Concept. [passage omitted]

The stand of the Agrarian Union on the new agrarian policy is one of full support, as regards the establishment and development of an agricultural form based on company organization. For the first time the company-based organization introduces new qualitative changes in the organizational structure and in agricultural production relations. [passage omitted]

[Boshankov] The future of the Bulgarian village is now a concern of all our people. How do you see this future? What do you think will mostly contribute to the people's return and their permanent stay in the villages and to the revival of their love of the land?

[Tanchev] Naturally, we are greatly concerned about the question of villages. The positive changes that occurred in the period following the socialist revolution, and during the post-April Plenum decades, in particular, are very significant.

The April Plenum has earned historical credit in contributing to the remarkable successes, to the material and cultural progress of the Bulgarian village.

We should, however, point out that industrialization and urbanization, which are a worldwide process, reflected on the migration of the rural population which led to a de-population of numerous villages, especially in mountainous and upland regions.

In entering the stage of restructuring, we now ask ourselves what the Bulgarian village should look like at the end of our century, in the forthcoming, final decade. For this reason, the May Plenum quite correctly assigned the task of developing a long-term program on the development and revival of our villages. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] Over several decades the BZNS has been actively engaged in international activities. Could you, please, describe your goals and your partners? What are the goals of our relations with agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations, and how are these relations contributing to the consolidation of new political thinking and to a democratic, international order?

[Tanchev] The active and extensive international activities of the BZNS are closely linked to Bulgaria's consistent, foreign policy in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world. It is also closely linked to the peace-loving policy of the socialist state, and above all, to the Soviet Union's peaceful strategy and constructive initiatives.

The Agrarian Union today has relations with over 130 parties and organizations in more than 80 states of all continents. These are chiefly agrarian parties, center parties, leftwing radical, liberal, and other democratic parties, organizations, and movements. They are influential and authoritative forces, which participate in forming the policy and public opinion of their respective countries. They exercise a strong influence on the broad, democratic lower and middle classes of their countries which are situated in the middle, to the left, or to the right of the political center. Half of these parties are government parties, or participate in a government coalition, many of them are represented in their countries' parliaments. They have their own professional, peasant, or cooperative organizations.

Our main goal in maintaining relations with them is to contribute to the cohesion of the international, democratic agrarian movement, to the cohesion of all democratic parties and organizations in the spirit of new political thinking, in the purpose of winning the support of public opinion in the political center for the new philosophy and strategy of peace.

[Boshnakov] The relations of the BZNS are assuming important dimensions in the context of our country's bilateral relations. How are these relations contributing to the intensification and promotion of Bulgaria's political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation with other countries? Taking into consideration the conditions of company-based organization in our country, how do these relations reveal new opportunities for intensifying business cooperation with leading, world-known companies, especially in the field of scientific-technical progress in agriculture and food industry?

[Tanchev] Now that we are adopting new postulates and practical approaches to the solution of problems related to Bulgaria's opening up to the current processes of world development, the international activities of the BZNS will create favorable prerequisites for building new bridges of cooperation with other countries.

We think that our relations with influential foreign partners will contribute even more to the essential development of Bulgaria's economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation on the international scene and to our country's better access to the achievements of worldwide civilization. Under the conditions of the company-based organizations we are striving to contribute to Bulgaria's active participation in the international division of labor and to universal scientific-technical progress.

I would like to point out in this respect, that we have recently developed the Agrarian Union's relations with authoritative ruling parties, such as the Christian Democratic Party in Italy, the Free Democratic Party in the FRG, the Christian People's Party in Belgium, and the Center Party in Finland, as well as with other center parties in Scandinavian countries.

We also maintain active relations with center forces and with the New Democracy Party in Greece.

We also have such relations with influential ruling parties and organizations in Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia.

Our relations with foreign partners reveal additional opportunities and create prerequisites for the intensification of scientific-technical and economic cooperation, including the agricultural sector. [passage omitted]

Armed Romanian Soldier Arrested After Shooting

LD2505023289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0023 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Prague, May 24 (TANJUG)—An unusual shooting incident came to happen in Czechoslovakia the other day when a traffic patrol detected an armed Romanian soldier in the trailer of a truck bearing Turkish licence plates.

When called on to come out, the soldier opened fire from his hideout, but the patrol did not fire in return so as not to have anybody become a victim. The young man escaped and disappeared in a nearby forest. He was found there the next day.

According to a communique issued by the security service in the town of Brno, even in the forest the young runaway shot at the policemen pursuing him, but they returned fire and lightly wounded him in the arm. The 19-year-old young man surrendered and is in prison now.

Further Reportage on Visit by Hungary's Nemeth

'No Differences' in Talks

LD2405144289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Since only one paper has written about it, the Czechoslovak press does not attribute too much significance to Miklos Nemeth's talks in Prague. Evelin Forro reports on the discussions.

[Forro] Miklos Nemeth and Ladislav Adamec held talks with one another in a very friendly, constructive spirit. No differences of any kind can be observed. This is what Czechoslovak Government spokesman Miroslav Pavel said when I asked him about the atmosphere of the discussion.

After the 2-hour tete-a-tete exchange of views in the morning, at lunch Adamec said in his toast that he considers economic cooperation, especially, to be good, and there are no significant problems in other spheres. He said that the problems that have arisen in connection with the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project will be examined by experts in the shortest time possible. We trust in a constructive solution to the problem, he added. The Czechoslovak prime minister valued highly the openness of the discussion.

In his reply, Miklos Nemeth affirmed that they gave each other very exhaustive, sincere, and detailed information. He emphasized that in the interest of renewal, there is also need for a renewal of the party. He agreed with the saying, which Adamec quoted earlier, that he who inherits the house also bears the debts of the house.

Received by Husak

LD2405165189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Today at Prague Castle, Gustav Husak, president of the Republic received Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, who is in Prague on a friendly working visit.

In a comradely conversation both statesmen praised the quality of mutual contacts and agreed that further intensification and deepening of cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical cultural and other areas, is in the interest of the development of both countries and the strengthening of good-neighborly relations. It was also stated that to overcome the problems that arise during mutual cooperation, the vital thing is to look for a constructive solution.

When evaluating international developments both representatives emphasized the need to strengthen positive tendencies which are now manifesting themselves in the world. At the same time, they expressed the determination of their countries to actively help the strengthening of trust, improve the international atmosphere, achieve progress in disarmament, and increase international security.

News Conference Held

LD2405195589 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] After they completed their talks Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth met with journalists and summarized their viewpoints.

[Begin recording] [Adamec] Our brief talks today had a purely working character. It is not our aim to sign any kind of document or agreement, but mutually to brief each other on restructuring in our countries, to conduct further consultations on cooperation relations, further improving cooperation in the economic sphere, and naturally, we could not avoid answering the problem of the joint water project—Nagymaros-Gabcikovo. The focal point of our negotiations was aimed at the economic sphere—for the past period we have had very positive results, the exchange of goods reaches over 8.5 billion rubles. True, it is a fair sum, but it is to small for the possibilities of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In conclusion, we agreed that the reserves must be discovered in a more concrete fashion. There is an entire group of products in Hungary which is achieving high world parameters. I do not want to enumerate them individually, but we are interested in them. Czechoslovakia can offer Hungary a whole range of very good products. We have agreed that we will entrust a group of people to actually work out certain proposals, by the end of June it will table proposals of solution. We have also agreed that we will speedily assess the prospects of the plan for the year 1991-95 so that a number of new approaches could

be anchored in the next 5-year plan. As to Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, naturally, as a government we have adopted a stance, but if new circumstances occurred that had not been known before and could seriously disturb the ecology of Hungary or of our country, we have agreed that we will discuss matters, we will participate, and we will come to conclusions together. We have entrusted Comrade Hrivnak, first deputy premier, to organize this work and to train experts who can objectively and rationally discuss matters. I hold the visit in high esteem. It was necessary, the talks were open very interesting, very beneficial for me too. I would, therefore, like to thank Comrade Nemeth for his openness in these talks, as well as for attempts to find joint solutions. We have also agreed that we will continue in this spirit, that Prague is not so distant from Budapest to prevent more frequent visits—if the situation demands this—and I believe that this will benefit our further cooperation. I thank Comrade Chairman very much once again. [end recording]

[Announcer] The next to take the floor was Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. He said:

[Begin recording, in Hungarian, fading into Slovak translation] In this, our first meeting we discussed all problems in bilateral relations very sincerely and openly. At the same time we examined and evaluated the results achieved and possibilities of solving them for (?you). In this regard we agreed to further investigate these problems and cooperate in solving them.

In Comrade Ademec, I met a politician with a broad outlook. He sensitively reacts to ecological problems and to the protection of nature. This is confirmed, among other things, by the fact that despite repeatedly emphasizing Czechoslovakia's unchanged position concerning the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dams, the Czechoslovak side is prepared to openly and jointly research all the questions that have emerged concerning the protection of the environment, the cleaning stations, ecology in the b.oad sense of the term, or (?seismic questions). In short, all the questions which led the Hungarian Government to halt the construction work on the Nagymaros section. I emphasize that, exclusively on the Nagymaros constructions until the end of July. In the whole system of dams, Gabcikovo-Nagymaros is, from the viewpoint of future generations, a very important project. In this we have joint responsibility for it and a joint effort to repeatedly investigate all the questions and problems that have emerged and that must be jointly thoroughly checked and clarified. This work will begin as soon as possible under the management of deputy premiers, with the participation of experts who will once again responsibly evaluate the ecological questions and those which concern, among other things, the cleaning stations. We will adopt our definitive position on the basis of the results of this research. For this reason I highly value the attitude of agreements from the Czechoslovak side.

The significance of the economic viewpoint which was mentioned earlier, which is gaining continually greater priority in the policies of both governments—and that is how it should be—is also confirmed by the initiative of Comrade Adamec and the preparatory work for the conference precisely on this subject here in Prague. From the beginning Hungary supported this idea and in the future also we will do everything for the success of this action.

I also believe it to be important that we exchange views on questions of internal restructuring, on the political system, on the realization of reforms on individual directions of development. We mutually agreed on the fact that without waiting for the comprehensive reform of the CEMA we will bilaterally look for such forms and solutions which will enable the increase in the dynamism of economic cooperation relations. This will also be the task of the working groups that Comrade Adamec mentioned.

We consider it important, and that is how we jointly evaluated it, that in cooperation between our countries in culture, education, tourism, we look for possibilities of deepening cooperation, that everything which was tried and tested up to now in this cooperation, which links our nations is made fully of in such a way as to ensure that these are not evaluated on the background or mirror of the problems of questions being discussed.

I would like to inform you that I invited Comrade Adamec to Hungary and the invitation was accepted with thanks. Since some questions, including that of Gabickovo-Nagymaros dam require that we meet again shortly Comrade Adamec promised such a visit. Thank you. [end recording]

Meets With Jakes

LD2405222189 Prague CTK in English 1950 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today Politburo member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers Miklos Nemeth, currently on a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak premier.

Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec was also present.

During comradley talks, Milos Jakes appreciated the level of relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary and expressed himself in favour of their further all-round development. He supported the active exchange of opinions, information and stands on all political and specialized levels. It is particularly important when tasks and problems concerning the interests of the people, nations and nationalities of both countries arise. It is necessary to make use of all possibilities in order to strengthen cooperation between socialist countries on bilateral level

also in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty in the interest of their stable development and of increasing the attractiveness of the socialist system, Milos Jakes stated.

Miklos Nemeth said that Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations are of historical importance. The Hungarian leadership pays them considerable attention and is of the opinion that their further strengthening by means of solving joint needs by concrete agreements is necessary. He also spoke of the reasons which have led the Hungarian Government to the decision to halt for two months construction work on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project.

Nemeth Departs; Adamec Present

LD2405200189 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, ended this evening his working friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and left by air for Budapest. Seeing him off at Ruzyne Airport in Prague were Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec, at whose invitation the visit was taking place, and other personalities.

Adamec Predicts Dam Completion

LD2405211189 Prague CTK in English 1925 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—Relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary are developing well in many spheres of social life, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec said at a luncheon he gave here today in honour of his Hungarian counterpart Miklos Nemeth.

"I hope that also today's talks will contribute to the development of mutually beneficial cooperation," the Czechoslovak premier stated, adding that an open exchange of opinions, the exchange of experience and mutual flow of information are particularly important today.

The two representatives also exchanged opinions on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros joint water project. The Czechoslovak Government has already unambigously expressed its stand. I believe that during talks between experts, a solution will be found which will make it possible to successfully finish the project, Ladislav Adamec said.

Within its strength and possibilities, Czechoslovakia contributes to the deepening of the process of developing cooperation and ensuring security on an ever lower level of armament and to that it gradually become irreversible, Ladislav Adamec emphasized. The initiative concerning a meeting of Prime Ministers of Czechoslovakia's neighbouring countries on environmental protection in central Europe is one of the Czechoslovak contributions to this process, the Czechoslovak prime minister said, thanking Miklos Nemeth for his personal support for this initiative.

Miklos Nemeth highly appreciated the open dialogue during which the two representatives informed each other of the situation in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. We agreed that we solve in many directions similar problems, he said. We have good results in cooperation, however, there are many spheres where we could make better use of our advantages then up to now, Miklos Nemeth said. In order to achieve this, we must remove the barriers preventing it. This concerns not only economy, but also culture, science, technology and education. The Hungarian prime minister stressed the importance of bilateral relations also in cooperation between member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. These bilateral relations should become more dynamic, he stressed.

Miklos Nemeth appreciated the matter-of-fact discussion with Ladislav Adamec on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project. In short time, an expert analysis of the project will be made with the aim to minimize the ecological consequences, he stated. During the dialogue, I have gained proof that the Czechoslovak premier as well as I considers the ecological attitude to the whole problem very important, Nemeth said, adding that we live in central Europe where the mutual dependence of countries on each other is permanently growing and where it is impossible to do without close cooperation.

Commentator Assesses Relations With Hungary

LD2305212389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 May 89

[Tomas Borec commentary]

[Text] Broad exchanges of knowledge and experiences are necessary even today, when reality brings about different views or creates controversial questions which must be tackled with patience, in a comradely way, and with a tone suitable for fraternal socialist countries. We consider many of the things that Hungary is striving for today to be their internal affair, whether it is building a socialist market economy, reforming the political system, or creating conditions for the transition to a system of several parties. However, what we consider also our affair is the fact that the successful building of the joint Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam on the Danube has been halted for 2 months on the Hungarian side. Our government feels that the action is unjustified, and Czechoslovakia is prepared at any time to start negotiations to find a common path to complete this significant European power project.

One can suppose that during Miklos Nemeth's visit to our country, exchanges of opinions and top level constructive dialogue will be no doubt useful. For the time being, there is much to be desired in the economic cooperation which dominates Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations. Although the turnover in mutual goods trade will reach 1.8 billion rubles this year, the path to further development of cooperation is by expanding direct relations between the economic and scientific-technical

organizations, and setting up joint enterprises, for example in microelectronics, biotechnologies, or even in the consumer industry. Development of culture and tourism are part of the mutual interchange between the two neighboring countries. This year's days of Hungarian culture in our country contributed to it, as well as the opening of the new Czechoslovak cultural center in Budapest. Tourism includes several million of citizens from both countries each year, but there is room for improvement in this respect, too.

And there is also another page of our relations which is significant: increasing mutual trust at present, as well as in the future, in jointly building socialism is one of the most important points.

Correspondent Notes Lessons From Soviet Elections

AU2405102489

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 May on page 6 carries a 1,500-word article by Lubor Kazda, the paper's Moscow correspondent, entitled "Mobilizing Lessons." The article deals with the analysis being made in the Soviet Union of the reasons for the "setbacks suffered by a number of responsible local party and state representatives" in the recent parliamentary elections.

Referring to the reasons for the "unexpected" defeat of many high-ranking candidates, including those who did not face a competitor, Kazda points out that "from the viewpoint of the ordinary voter, restructuring is not, so far, yielding tangible results in the important sphere of everyday problems," which is blamed on "some responsible local officials who do not wage the struggle for the new with sufficient energy." In the body of his article, Kazda reviews Soviet press (PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, NOVOYE VREMYA) commentaries analyzing experience from the election defeats. The articles which Kazda quotes attribute the poor performance of some high-ranking officials in the elections to their bureaucratic methods of management, outdated style of work, lack of personal authority as opposed to authority derived from their official rank, their adherence to "traditional agitation" and inability to respond to the imaginative and resourceful election campaigns of their competitors, and, generally, the "lack of preparedness" of some local party organizations for the "new conditions." Kazda also quotes Soviet commentaries arguing that the election defeats of some functionaries "are no tragedy" and that their personal defeat does not mean a defeat for the party as a whole.

Interest in Khrushchev's 20th CPSU Speech

AU2405063289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

["z" answers question by reader Zdenek Borecky in the "Answering Readers' Questions" column]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO, writes Zdenek Borecky, a reader from Brno, wrote not so long ago that an important speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev at the 20th CPSU Congress (1956) was published in the USSR. Is a reprint of the speech being contemplated?

["z"] The reader writes that not only he, but also a number of people who have heard about that speech, would like to acquaint themselves with it. At the end of next week, the 11th issue of the periodical ZIVOT STRANY, which is published in Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian, will comply with that wish.

The document, for a long time regarded as an intraparty document and classified [duverny], was published in the Soviet Union in the third issue of the monthly NEWS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Daily Corrects Information

AU2405135589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone...." column]

[Text] The Editorial Office Informs. We have been informed that the speech by N. S. Khrushchev to the 20th CPSU Congress that was recently published in NEWS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, will be published not in the 11th issue of ZIVOT STRANY, but in SBORNIK DOKUMENTU USTREDNICH ORGANU KCS. This corrects the report published in our newspaper on Saturday [20 May].

Ministry on CSCE London Forum, Sudeten Issue

AU2205141489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Press Conference of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Results of the London Information Forum; Stand on the 40th Convention of the Sudeten Germans' Refugee Organization"]

[Text] Ambassador Dusan Spacil, head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the London Information Forum, briefed the journalists on the course and results of the forum at a press conference of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held in Prague on Thursday [18 May].

He characterized the Forum deliberations as generally positive and constructive, despite the fact that one had not managed to avoid confrontational stands, inter alia also vis-a-vis the CSSR. However, for the most part the forum aimed to exchange experience in journalistic work and to consider ways to improve working conditions for the journalists and generally to raise the standards of information. Czechoslovakia fully supports the provisions for a free flow of information, but rejects the spreading of misinformation, Dusan Spacil emphasized. He recalled that a number of suggestions made at the London Forum will also stimulate us to improve the standards of handling information.

The first stage of the next follow-up project of the Vienna meeting—the conference on the human dimensions of CSCE—will be held in Paris from 30 May to 23 June. The second round of negotiations will be in Copenhagen in 1990, and the third in Moscow in 1991.

The Paris conference will be addressed by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. Apart from the official Czechoslovak delegation, its sessions will be attended by our experts, by deputies of our legislative bodies, by the clergy, and by representatives of the Czechoslovak Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation.

Great significance is attributed particularly to pushing through the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, part and parcel of which is support for the development of contacts between the people.

In reply to a CTK question on the stand adopted by the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 40th convention of the Sudeten Germans' Refugee Organization, held under the motto "Europe—Freedom—Legal Right—Partnership" in Stuttgart on 13-14 May 1989, Ivan Kulhanek, spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated:

The tenor of the speeches delivered at the convention reiterated the hackneyed slogans about the open "German issue," the "failure to implement the Sudeten Germans' right to self-determination," the "injustice and wrongs" perpetrated against them after World Wars I and II, etc. There was also no lack of voices casting doubt on the postwar arrangement of Europe. The most egregious appeal was made by Franz Neubauer, spokesman of the Sudeten Germans' Refugee Organization, who called upon the current representatives of the three victorious powers—the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR—to annul the signatures of their predecessors under Article 13 of the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 on the deportations of Germans.

We have also taken note of calls for conciliation, for international understanding, for settlement, and for the renunciation of violence. One can agree with this. However, generally speaking, the convention has regrettably demonstrated once again that the leaders of the Sudeten Germans' Refugee Organization are still striving, as in the past, for territorial and social revanche. The means used to achieve this aim are a distortion of historical truth and attempts to revise the results of World War II.

It has been proved on many occasions that such endeavors contradict the demands of our present and the interests of peace and security.

On the basis of the CSSR-FRG Treaty of 1973, the CSSR intends to continue building and developing good-neighborly relations and peaceful cooperation with the FRG, provided the approach used by both sides is responsible, realistic, and constructive.

Polish Minister on Environment-Related Problems

AU2405163489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "L. Adamec Held Talks With Polish Minister; About Stonava, Wastes, and Indemnification"]

[Text] Prague—In Prague on Monday [22 May] CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec received Jozef Koziol, minister of environmental protection and natural resources of the Polish People's Republic [PPR], who has arrived as personal plenipotentiary of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

J. Koziol presented L. Adamec with a letter from M. Rakowski, which contained both an invitation to pay a visit to the PPR and the views of the Polish side on some unresolved problems pertaining to the protection of the environment in the two countries' border regions. In the talks that followed, J. Koziol explained the PPR's standpoint on the construction of the coking plant in Stonava, the construction of spoil heaps of industrial wastes in Mala Cermna, and the indemnification for the crude oil accident on the River Odra. He also requested that representatives of the CSSR, the PPR, and the GDR meet to continue work on a tripartite agreement on cooperation in environmental protection.

L. Adamec assured J. Koziol that the Czechoslovak Government will not give its consent to the construction of any new production capacity which would pollute the environment in neighboring countries. The investor of the construction of the new coking plant in Stonava has already adopted such measures and, among other things, negotiations are underway to reduce the planned capacity to a half of the original plan, making sure that emissions are considerably below the strict international norms.

The two sides agreed that the talks between Czechoslovak and Polish experts on the Stonava coking plant will be concluded by the end of this June at the latest, as will be the talks on indemnification for the pollution of the River Odra. In additon, the CSSR Government will recommend that the pertinent responsible bodies relocate the spoil heap of industrial wastes in Mala Cermna. The CSSR premier agreed to an intensive continuation of the work on the tripartite agreement with the GDR on protection of the environment.

The invitation to visit the PPR was received with satisfaction and thanks.

The reception was attended by Pavel Hrivnak, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development; Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs; and Antonin Krumnikl, minister of fuels and energy. Wlodzimiers Mokrzyszczak, PPR ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

Jakes Receives Cypriot AKEL Party Leader

LD2405045189 Prague CTK in English
1825 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Prague May 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today General Secretary of the Cypriot Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) Dhimitrios Khristofias, currently heading an AKEL delegation on a visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Dhimitrios Khristofias pointed out the recent Prague meeting of representatives of Cypriot political parties, stressing that it has stimulated the internal dialogue now under way between the two Cypriot communities.

Milos Jakes assured the AKEL leader that the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Czechoslovakia will continue to support the just cause of the Cypriot people and their longing to live in peace and without foreign interference. We consider a consistent solution of this regional conflict an important contribution to the improvement of the situation in Europe and the building of the common European home, he said.

The two representatives appreciated the high level of mutual relations between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and AKEL and exchanged opinions on the general development of the international situation, paying the greatest attention to its European and Mediterranean aspects.

Discussing the situation in the international communist and workers' movement, they expressed themselves in favour of greater coordination of its activity as well as the development of cooperation between communist, workers' and other left-wing parties in world and regional dimensions.

Nicaraguan Interior Minister Arrives on Visit

LD2405142989 Prague CTK in English
1350 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—A delegation of the Nicaraguan Interior Ministry headed by Tomas Borge Martinez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, Nicaraguan interior minister and leader of the revolution, arrived here today at the invitation of Czechoslovak Interior Minister Frantisek Kinci.

Topical issues concerning cooperation between the two sectors are to be discussed during the visit.

Received by Jakes

LD2405221589 Prague CTK in English
2033 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today Tomas Borge Martinez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and Nicaraguan interior minister, currently on a short working visit to Czechoslovakia.

Tomas Borge informed Milos Jakes of the development of the economic and political situation in Nicaragua and in the areas of Central America where an open struggle for independent development by progressive revolutionary forces against the counter revolution and imperialist rule takes place. He spoke of preparations for elections in Nicaragua and thanked the Czechoslovak people for their support.

Milos Jakes appreciated the achieved level of relations between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the two states. He expressed solidarity with th resolution of the Nicaraguan people to strengten the results of the Sandinist revolution on the path towards the forming of a just society.

Honecker, Mozambique's Chissano Begin Talks

LD2405140589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1338 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker and Joaquim Chissano, the highest representatives of the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique, started political talks in Berlin this afternoon. The two met in the headquarters of the Council of State.

After a discussion in the office of the chairman of the Council of State, the official talks began between the two sides. Members of the GDR party and state leadership and the officials in the guest's entourage are participating in the talks, which are headed by the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State and by the president of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Further on Talks

LD2505025489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1456 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The visit to the GDR by Joaquim Alberto Chissano and the resulting talks continued the tried and tested tradition of cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Frelimo [Mozambique]. This was stated by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to the Frelimo and Mozambican president during a friendly discussion.

The two sides expressed the certainty that their talks would set new signals for further cooperation between the two parties and states for the benefit of their peoples. They stressed the importance of cooperation between the SED and Frelimo, which was the core of overall relations.

After the discussion, which was attended by the two countries' ambassadors, Guenther Fritsch and Julio Goncalo Braga, the official talks began.

The African statesman was awaited and warmly welcomed by Erich Honecker on his arrival at the official seat in Marx-Engels Platz, Berlin.

During the extensive exchange of views with in the framework of the official talks, the state of and prospects for collaboration between the two parties and states were discussed. Other topics in the talk were current world political problems and questions of social development in the two countries.

Erich Honecker and Joaquim Alberto Chissano gave a high assessment of the cooperation between the SED and the Frelimo party. The treaty of friendship and cooperation signed 10 years ago also proved to be a firm basis for relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique. Both politicians noted with satisfaction that the traditional close relations, the roots of which go back to the time of Frelimo's national liberation struggle, are continually developing and deepening. They reaffirmed their determination to further expand and strengthen the multifarious contacts. The new agreements prepared for signing will encourage the future shaping of bilateral relations.

Erich Honecker assured his guest that the GDR would continue, to the best of its ability, supporting the great efforts of the Mozambique people, under the leadership of Frelimo, to solve the country's complicated problems and strengthen national unity. This included the GDR's active solidarity with the People's Republic of Mozambique. The GDR would always prove to be a reliable friend. He wished the people of Mozambique further successes in the defense of their independence and sovereignty, the consolidation of national unity, and in the implementation of the economic revival program agreed upon in 1987, as well as in their preparations for the Fifth Frelimo Party Congress.

Joaquim Alberto Chissano praised the active support which the GDR was giving to his people's struggle for a better future and added that he wanted to thank the SED and the people of the GDR from the bottom of his heart. To know that one had such loyal friends and comrades-in-arms at one's side was encouraging, especially at a time when internal and external forces were trying to turn back the tide of history in his country and to hinder social progress.

Touching on the situation in Mozambique, Joaquim Alberto Chissano said it is characterized by preparations for the Fifth Frelimo Party Congress, with the support of all sections of the people, the mass organizations, and all religious communities, as well. Here it is a matter of strengthening the party as the leading force, strengthening national unity, and defending the fatherland.

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano said that progress in the economic sphere was of great importance for his country, following the difficult period Mozambique went through in the years 1981-85 owing to a setback in the economic sphere. The causes for this, he said, were primarily South Africa's war of aggression against his country, the effects of developments in the world market, drought, and floods. To halt the economic decline, a series of measures was agreed upon. In particular, the 1986 economic revival program was elaborated, and its progressive implementation in the following years brought the first successes, with growth rates of 3.6 and 4.2.

He stressed that decisive for his country and his people is the bringing about of peace, which continues to be threatened by the terrorist activities of armed bands supported by South Africa. This unstable situation in the country is a decisive inhibiting factor for greater economic growth for the wellbeing of the people.

In this connection, Joaquim Alberto Chissano spoke about his country's various efforts to put a stop to South Africa's continuing policy of destabilization by an offer to the armed bands for dialogue to establish peace, end violence, and normalize life.

In the discussion of current world political issues, Erich Honecker noted that far-reaching changes currently are taking place. The change under way still is not irreversible, however, and common security not yet reality. Despite the reduced danger of war the situation remains complicated and contradictory. Persistent efforts by all forces of reason and realism continue to be necessary to achieve progress and to prod further disarmament and detente measures. No standstill must be permitted in the process of disarmament. In this connection, Erich Honecker touched on the numerous initiatives, unilateral prior concessions, and constructive proposals by the Warsaw Pact member-states for the safeguarding of peace.

Peace and security in southern Africa are of great importance for insuring peace in the world and for a lasting improvement in international relations. The GDR agrees with the People's Republic of Mozambique, said Erich Honecker, that the chief cause of conflict in this region is the existence of apartheid. The dangers issuing from it strongly underline the need for settlements by means of negotiation. Therefore, the GDR supports all initiatives and steps by the People's Republic of Mozambique and the other frontline states aimed at solutions in the interests of a peaceful future for the peoples of the region. The GDR also supports Mozambique's efforts to persuade South Africa to end its destabilization policy toward the independent African states, and particularly its support for the armed bands.

LCY Official, Schabowski Address Berlin Aktiv

AU2405100189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 89 p 6

[Oswald Meyer report: "Party Organizations of Berlin and Belgrade Deepen Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] The 3d day of the visit of the delegation of the City Committee of the Belgrade League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] was characterized by the objective of deepening the cooperation between the Berlin and the Belgrade party organizations. On Friday morning [19 May] in the Electrical Project and Plant Construction State Enterprise, the parent enterprise of the Automation Installation Construction Combine, the guests were briefed on the capacity of such an economic unit and the work of the party organization. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, Dr Rados Smiljkovic addressed Berlin Party Aktiv comrades. He discussed LCY and SFRY policy issues. His speech focused on the preparation for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. The guest explained the LCY's position and role in mastering the various tasks to solve the country's most complicated development problems and to achieve further social progress. Then Dr Rados Smiljkovic and other members of the delegation answered questions from participants in the aktiv conference.

Guenther Schabowski stressed the traditionally close friendship and cooperation between our two parties and states. Here the close partnership between the party organizations of the two capitals, Belgrade and Berlin, plays a permanent role. He wished the members of the delegation and all LCY members success in the further development and strengthening of Socialist Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Delegation Concludes Visit

AU2405182289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 May 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The delegation of the City Committee of the Belgrade League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], headed by City Committee Chairman Dr Rados Smiljkovic, concluded its visit to the GDR on Sunday [21 May]. Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk leadership, bade the delegation a cordial farewell. Milan Predojevic, SFRY ambassador to the GDR, was also present.

The delegation, which was in the GDR at the invitation of the Berlin SED Bezirk leadership, visited Dresden and Potsdam on the weekend [20-21 May]. The Yugoslav guests visited internationally known art collections and historical memorials. In Dresden the delegation met with Hans Modrow, first secretary of the SED Bezirk leadership, for an exchange of opinions.

12 Citizens File Suit for Election Fraud

LD2305153289 Hamburg DPA in German 1356 GMT 23 May 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—After many objections raised with state authorities, the first charges [by private citizens] concerning the local elections on 7 May became known in East Berlin today. In the last few days, at least 12 citizens have filed suit under paragraph 211 with the state prosecutor-general in East Berlin, it was reported by church circles. The charges express the suspicion that, after the public counting, the number of votes against the proposal of the state's unified list had, at least in some areas, been given as lower than it actually was.

One of those who filed suit is the East Berlin Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, who accuses the head of the Berlin-Friedrickshain election commission of "falsifying the election result". Paragraph 211 provides for a sentence of up to 3 years' imprisonment. According to their own

reports, participants in the public counting in Friedrichshain arrived at a figure of 4,721 valid votes against the list. The final result, published officially in the GDR press, gave a figure of 1,611 no-votes for this district. [passage omitted]

In East Berlin and Potsdam alone, petitions and objections about alleged irregularities in the elections have, according to interest groups and church representatives, been signed and passed to state authorities by more than 400 citizens. It is said that nationwide the number of petitions, objections, and charges is many times higher than the figures known in East Berlin so far. [passage omitted]

Greenpeace Letter to Honecker on Ecology
LD2205154189 Hamburg DPA in German 1429 GMT 22 May 89

[Excerpt] Hamburg (DPA)—In a letter to GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker, the environmental organization Greenpeace has called for the publication of all data on ecological damage in the GDR. The letter was prompted by a Greenpeace postcard campaign which is intended to encourage GDR citizens to demand from their government both an improved policy for keeping the atmosphere pure, and the publication of environmental data, said a Greenpeace spokesman in reply to questions in Hamburg today. Environmental data has been under official protection in the GDR since 1982, and publication of such data is a punishable offence.

The preservation of the environment, which, according to official sources, is also being demanded by the citizens of the GDR, is only possible when there is "full information on already existing data," the letter to Honecker indicates. Thus in the past week, Greenpeace has sent letters to 12,000 GDR households selected at random from the telephone directory, informing them of the atmospheric pollution which is a danger to health, and also of damage to woodland in the GDR.

Miklos Nemeth Interviewed on Talks in CSSR

LD2405190589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] We are interrupting our reports on foreign events, for we have just had the news that Premier Miklos Nemeth has arrived at Ferihegy Airport. Henrik Havas reports.

[Begin recording] [Havas] Premier Miklos Nemeth is sitting here opposite me. What is meant by the phrase that your talks with the Czechoslovak premier were carried out in a very friendly, constructive atmosphere? This is what the communiques say.

[Nemeth] It means that we managed to review all those questions in which on the one hand it is expedient to strengthen cooperation, and we managed to put this into concrete agreements. So, for example, we agreed that not waiting for the reform of the CEMA, which will be a very lengthy process, and will be a very tortuous process. We will try to search for the new forms of cooperation, cooperational contacts, and concrete solutions, on a bilateral basis. We should talk about concrete proposals and stop laying down principles.

We also reviewed political questions including cultural and nationality questions.

There was a very sober, factual, open and sincere exchange of opinions. We clarified question which earlier had caused great polemic in the press. We agreed that the differing degree of openness, the way in which they and we approach certain questions, our past, or the opinions expressed in certain newspapers or by certain journalists on certain questions, should not be mixed up with the level of governmental politics; and, that we should do everything so that these debated questions should be clarified as soon as possible, reach a resting place, serving mutually the benefit of both peoples and countries. This is a great historical responsibility. All the basis which we possess merits that we should build on it, but the future cooperation with which we want to develop this further is very significant.

[Havas] Naturally, public opinion is interested primarily in what you achieved regarding Nagymaros, but first, seeing as you, Mr Premier, have dealt at such length with the questions of economic, political cooperation, then a few quick questions. It is generally known that we wish to go over to dollar-accounted trade next year already with the Soviet Union. When is there a chance for us to agree on this with the Czechoslovaks?

[Nemeth] I would like to make this more precise. This 'next year' is for now just an idea. The government has not yet debated these concrete calculations and proposals, and of course a wise decision depends to a great extent on the calculations. What is sure is that the present system is not advantageous and induces downward spiralling mechanisms. We worked on several versions. These will shortly be put before the government. If it is managed to find good, forward pointing solutions, then the Czechoslovak partner also emphasized willingness to join in this, that is in seeking similar solutions. I consider this very positive and forward looking.

You mentioned the Gabcikovo issue. Here, contrary to the reactions in the newspapers, I observed a very objective and level-headed approach on the part of the premier. He expressed and emphasized that they had already put an enormous amount of, if you like, money, into the investment, and all of their interests spoke in favor of their completing this according to original plans.

At the same time, regarding the risks and dangers I outlined, first and foremost in connection with environmental protection, with the quality, purity of the water, with the problem of purifying wastewater, with the lack of clarity concerning the ecological problems of peak operation, with the tectonic, earthquake, and seismological issues, he said that they are ready to look and examine these new viewpoints, and in so far as either in the past or now we have not taken certain risks into account with enough emphasis, or we have made mistakes, it is necessary to face up to these jointly, and if necessary, after the results of the examinations we will have to decide with joint responsibility on the nature of the solutions.

Thus, I feel that we have created the basis so that Hungarian experts, together with their experts, should survey the aforementioned issues with great responsibility. If time is necessary for this, then time is necessary. Perhaps it will also be necessary to involve independent international experts. However, the readiness with which he spoke about environmental protection, in which he took a commitment to ecological problems as his point of departure, by all means constitutes a satisfactory basis for us to face up to this issue objectively, impartially, free of emotions and passions.

Thus, I cannot yet predict the final result. It would still be early to predict whether it will be a possible end, or some kind of solution [as heard]. However, the essence is that we are cooperating jointly, not unilaterally, in the measuring up of the risks that await clarification, in the conducting of the examinations.

[Havas] Of course, time is rushing you a bit, since you made a promise that you would inform the National Assembly by June about the state of the investment. The suspension in the final analysis means that the circumstances of the investment will be examined with a perspective of 2 months, so there will not be a great deal of time for the committee, which you have just decided to set up.

[Nemeth] There will not be, that is doubtles. It is urgently necessary to assign the deputy ministers, the experts. It is necessary to survey the sphere of issues

which should be discussed. it is necessary to mutually exchange statistics. Here, it is also necessary to involve the academy, the independents, and their viewpoints. If more time is necessary, if this arises or emerges in the meantime, during the talks, then it will be necessary to initiate further steps.

Our joint responsibility is enormously great, since the cooperation could determine the character of this region for decades, for centuries.

If any of the dangers here, if anything—no matter what—like inadequate safety, can be averted, the foundations cannot be laid. This is not just a Hungarian, but it is also Czechoslovak responsibility, or Austrian responsibility. This joint sense and awareness of responsibility imbued the talks.

[Havas] Alongside Premier Adamec, you held talks with General Secretary Jakes and Head of State Husak. A Czechoslovak paper wrote—it appeared under the headline—that "Gabcikovo-Nagymaros is the final drop in the glass," more precisely oil on the fire, since the Dubcek interview and the television report showing the situation of the Magyars in Slovakia, generally the situation of the Magyars in Slovakia, have exacerbated Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations, which are especially burdened by the difference in changes in systems of political institutions. Did these issues enter the discussion?

[Nemeth] They entered the discussion. I already touched on them in the introduction. I believe that in politics, at the government level, these must be assessed in a much more level-headed and balanced manner than what the press publishes, either here of there. We should not mix the two. The responsibility is very great. They emphasized objectivity. From a certain viewpoint, this is understandable. However, seeing our readiness for cooperation, whether in the sphere of nationality problems, whether facing up to our historical past, I believe that a suitable reply for Comrade Husak and Comrade Jakes was constituted by what was mentioned above. They accepted these in a level-headed manner and with understanding, and of course with the knowledge that in certain spheres, be it the reform of the system of political institutions or the economic reform, the endeavors and solutions are different in each country.

However, we mutually established that it would be a mistake, a big mistake, to return to, let us say, the practice of the seventies: sending messages by the newspaper to one another and branding one another's practice.

[Havas] Did the fact enter the discussion that Romanian Head of State and General Secretary Ceausescu made quite a stir, and paid a lightning visit to Prague? In Hungary, this again made the very old beliefs and fears concerning the coming together of a little-entente [kisantant] take flight in a wide circle.

[Nemeth] I say sincerely that we had so much to discuss that we did not touch on the Ceausescu visit, the visit to Prague. I do not know of—I did not sense—such dangers, and I believe that these dangers can be considered as scare-mongering. This was not the tone of the talks. I could sum up the talks' motto as: cooperation and joint responsibility.

[Havas] It is good to hear this. In conclusion, you will go to Austria tomorrow. You will hold talks with Chancellor Vranitzky. What do you expect of these talks?

[Nemeth] I feel that it is my duty to inform him, as well, of the viewpoints on whose basis the government decided on suspension, and also to ask for a readiness to cooperate, work together, from the Austrian side, as well as understanding in the interest of solving our problems. I believe that the situation there is a bit different. There, it is companies that stand face-to-face with one another, but it does no harm to clarify these at a governent level.

[Havas] In conclusion, do not you consider these two visits to be a bit too late? Would it not have been better to have earlier informed the heads of government of the two affected countries, and only later made the decision public?

[Nemeth] We were in contact, on various channels, with both governments, so it cannot be said that this decision fell on either the one or the other government unexpectedly.

[Havas] Thank you for the conversation.

Working Groups Planned

LD2405192889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] Premier Miklos Nemeth today held talks in Prague. Evelin Forro reports:

[Forro] A Hungarian-Czechoslovak working group of experts will be formed, which will investigate the ecological aspects of the Bos-Nagymaros construction; there are still reserves in economic cooperation; there is mutual responsibility for the nationalities. This is how the talks between the heads of government could be briefly summarized, about which both said they had been useful, that they had been carried out in an open, sincere atmosphere.

Miklos Nemeth, shortly after his arrival in Prague, immediately commenced a tete-a-tete exchange of opinions with Ladislav Adamec; a luncheon followed. After this, he was received by General Secretary Jakes, and Head of State Husak.

Following the afternoon talks, at which the experts were also present, the two premiers gave a short press statement. Adamec said they had agreed on the creation of a group of experts which will be led by deputy premiers,

and their task is to weigh up ecological aspects. As he said, if new circumstances arise, hitherto unknown, and which could upset Hungary and Czechoslovakia's ecological balance, then they will discuss the subject again. Miklos Nemeth added to this: If, after the exchange of data, there is a debate, then they will bring in independent external experts.

The Hungarian premier highlighted that in Adamec, he had come to know a politician with a wide range of vision, one receptive and sensitive to ecological, natural problems who had said that although the standpoint of the Czechoslovak Government is unchanged, they are, however, ready and open for the joint examination of the problems which have arisen.

Interview With Nemeth on Nagymaros, Kadar Era

AU2405110689 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 15 May 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by unidentified interviewer published in the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY REPORTS; date and place not given: "The Basic Mistake of This Model of Socialism Is That It Neglects Man—Miklos Nemeth on the River Barrage, the Kadar Era"]

[Text] Premier Miklos Nemeth gave an exclusive interview to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY REPORTS. In this interview, Miklos Nemeth again pointed out that at the next session of Parliament scheduled for 31 May the government would ask for authorization to review the international obligations connected with the halting of construction at the river barrage project. By 31 July, the government will thoroughly examine the ecological, seismic, and other environmental consequences of halting construction. The government will then report to Parliament on the results of this analysis. The National Assembly will decide on the issue of halting construction, and if it finds it justified, the National Assembly will propose a referendum on this issue.

[Question] According to the international press, the premier's speech to Parliament contained the most critical judgment of the Kadar era, without even mentioning Janos Kadar's name.

[Nemeth] It was high time to draw the dividing line clearly. All I did was to evaluate the real opportunities for action from the viewpoint of the government's ability to function. I had to do this because our society still does not understand well enough the problems facing the government. I will add here immediately that this is not the fault of the people but the fault of those who did not inform them at the time.

It has become absolutely clear nowadays that the basic mistake of this model of socialism is that it neglects man and does not really help the formation and development of great creative personalities because this system does not consider the motives of individuals and small communities, relies on the short-term use of the means of production, and consequently, it does not have the capacity for renewal. The forced preservation of this model would destroy social conditions and exhaust the remaining creative energy, and this would not solve, but only increase the basic problems. Naturally, this leads to social opposition, and this opposition cannot be suppressed even by means of ideological power!

I can state without exaggeration that we have found ourselves in an unparalleled historical situation: With incredibly heavy inherited burdens—great debts, crisis of values, and acute social tensions—we must now simultaneously establish a market economy and carry out a peaceful transition to a real democracy. There are no historical recipes for this. Besides, we do not need recipes given to us by foreign powers. Such recipes have always made us ill. Now we can freely choose our road. We must find a form that will guarantee the future of the Hungarian nation with us relying on our own national values, cultural heritage, and our historical experiences.

[Question] You spoke about a satanic plan the essence of which was, I quote, "to discredit the reform ideas in the eyes of the people in such a way that turning away from reforms was rewarded by an economically unfounded increase in the standard of living." Does this danger still exist?

[Nemeth] In one way such a danger can definitely be avoided: The current extent of our indebtedness will not make such an adventure possible. However, one can notice that the conservative forces that oppose reforms continue to call for an increase in the standard of living and to use the weapons of social demagogy. Everything that is painful for the Hungarian society hurts us too, but we do not want to help only with empty words.

Answering a question about the changes in the party-government relations and the multiparty system that is currently in formation, Miklos Nemeth repeatedly stressed that we were not yet talking about a coalition period.

[Question] As you said, the multiparty system is one of the basic criteria of a coalition period. The various political organizations are currently in their initial phase. Regarding their programs, activities, character, and their social and political contacts, these organizations are not yet mature political organizations.

[Nemeth] This is natural, because a transition to a coalition period can only be the result of a process lasting several years.

[Question] The key question is whether the multiparty system currently being developed will be an artificial formation or will better express the differences of interests prevailing in the society.

This question is still open today. There is also a danger of bargaining behind the backs of the people. I am convinced that there will be real advancement only if power sharing is decided in other ways and not by bargaining behind the people, and if the political parties prove themselves through their work for the people and by enjoying real social support for the first time.

[Nemeth] I have always endeavored to involve various political forces. So far, this endeavor has remained at the level of consultations. In its current composition, the government is ready to open up opportunities for these forces to participate in genuine activities, both on the overall government and ministerial levels.

[Question] Can we expect further personnel changes?

[Nemeth] When I was elected premier, I said that I would initiate personnel changes only on the basis of my experience in work relations. I continue to say this now. We are facing a great amount of work. We will have to pass very difficult stages. I count on everyone's activity and I have high professional and political demands of them. Those who are able to carry this burden will stay, and I will initiate changes in the cases where people are unable to carry this high work load.

[Question] In addition to personnel changes, you also talked about organizational changes. The planned abolition of the State Office for Church Affairs was received with great surprise not only in Parliament but also in the domestic and international public opinion. What lies behind this announcement?

[Nemeth] It is obvious that the complete implementation of a democratic state and of the human and citizen rights is one of the great joint ventures of the National Assembly and the government. In the course of this task, our government attaches great importance to freedom of conscience and religion.

The law aimed at guaranteeing this fundamental human right is currently in preparation and will be submitted to Parliament still within this year. The guidelines of this law have been formulated in the course of extensive coordination affecting primarily church and denomination leaders, priests, social organizations, and ministries. Of course, we will submit the draft bill to the general public for debate.

An important endeavor of our church policy is to ensure, by separating church and state the full autonomy and independence of the churches and their free operation, and based on such an equal partnership relation, to further develop our multilateral cooperation. In harmony with this, we should eliminate the administrative spheres of authority and means that could interfere in the internal life of the churches, violate their autonomy, and which, in some cases, could limit, instead of regulate their activity.

[Question] How could religious believers organize the public assertion of their interests as citizens?

[Nemeth] Today, it is impossible to solve the representation and implementation of the religious interests of churches, denominations (as institutions), and of religious citizens. It is desirable that the aforementioned institutional and citizen interests are expressed in our public life and have a more direct influence on our legislative and executive power. We propose the establishment of a National Religious Affairs Council with the role of discovering, coordinating, and implementing interests and providing advice and coordination. We will make proposals on the exact sphere of authority, operational order, and composition of this body following a thorough coordination with the heads of churches, denominations, and religious associations in Hungary.

[Question] You spoke about Nagymaros as an obsolete economic model and the symbol of an obsolete decision-making system. What position will you take in the coming government session on the issue of Bos-Nagymaros?

[Nemeth] There will be a great debate, probably going into several rounds. We also need international coordination. I have not yet reached a final conclusion on how to evaluate the circumstances, but I can say this much: If the conclusion is to halt the project, I will accept this.

Opposition Letter on Project

AU2405151689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 May 89 p 6

["Letter from Opposition Roundtable to Premier Karoly Nemeth"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Premier!

The parties and organizations of the Opposition Roundtable agree with the government's decision of 13 May to immediately halt the construction of the Nagymaros River barrage in order to reduce the consequences of previous mistaken decisions. We hope that construction will be completely suspended following the evaluation of expert analyses and the CSSR-Hungarian talks. At the same time, we also draw your attention to the fact that, in addition to Nagymaros, the government should extend its review to the entire Hungarian Danube sector.

Finally, we assure you that, if needed, the organizations of the Opposition Roundtable will be ready to provide all moral, political, and professional help to solve the tasks that will emerge from halting the construction.

The Opposition Roundtable (the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Independent Smallholders Party, the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, the

Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian People's Party, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, and the Federation of Free Democrats.)

15 May 1989.

Project Discussed in Vienna

LD2305214889 Budapest MTI in English 2052 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Vienna, May 23 (MTI)—An 11-member Hungarian social goodwill delegation held talks in Vienna on Monday and Tuesday on the suspension of the Nagymaros project. The members of the delegation included delegates of the social forces that oppose the building of the Nagymaros power plant and who support the decision of the government to halt work such as Janos Szentagothai, retired president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and member of the Presidential Council and MP [Member of Parliament], other MPs, and representatives of new political organizations and the Danube circle.

The delegates met with experts of the banks and firms concerned in the Nagymaros project, and with the representatives of Austrian parties. The delegation reported on the background to the Hungarian decision and the environmental protection efforts of the organizations represented in the delegation, and heard Austrian interests.

The delegation held a press conference on Tuesday. Mr Szentagothai said that the Hungarian participants of the Nagymaros project do not wish to violate the contracts concluded with their Austrian business partners, but to re-negotiate them in the interest of a mutually acceptable agreement. MP Attila Zsigmond noted that the delegation would like to create favourable conditions for the future negotiations between the officials, and for the talks to strengthen Hungarian-Austrian friendship by taking the Hungarian national interests into consideration.

Miklos Nemeth Assesses Debt Problem at Meeting

LD2305122689 Budapest MTI in English 1130 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 23, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—This year Hungary has to pay USD [U.S. dollars] 1.34 billion in interest on its convertible debts, USD 110 million more than anticipated, and in order to prevent the country's debts from growing further, the surplus from trade and tourism together should equal the above amount said prime minister Miklos Nemeth at a meeting of independent MPs [Members of Parliament] in Budapest on Tuesday.

A convertible trade surplus of USD 400-450 million was projected for the current year, slightly less than last year. Last year the tourism balance surplus was USD 39 million.

Mr Nemeth added that all the new loans of USD 2-3 billion Hungary borrowed annually went to pay debts, with nothing left for the restructuring of the economy.

In the meantime, unfounded income plans and underestimated expenditures are feared to generate a budget deficit of between 50 and 60 billion forints, in contrast to the planned 20 billion (USD 322 million). So much budget deficit would amount to no less than the loss of the country's creditworthiness. The government's new economic package is designed to prevent exactly that.

If parliament approves the government's economic package, the credit agreement with the IMF can be extended, with simple modification, until the end of the year, said Mr Ferenc Bartha, presdient of the National Bank of Hungary, on the TV evening news yesterday.

Mr Nemeth said the package envisages a cut in the budgets of armed forces and state administration, and on the income side suggests measures designed to invigorate the economy. Some 5.8 billion forints (USD 93.5 million) have been set aside from internal sources for the invigoration of the economy (2 billion for tax preferences to entrepreneurs, and 3.8 billion for the creation of new jobs). A World Bank loan of USD 18 million is also available for the creation of new jobs.

The prime minister said Hungary's gross convertible debt was USD 17 billion at the end of the first quarter, and net debt USD 11.1 billion. Of all the USD 5.8 billion due to Hungary USD 2.7 billion seems to be bad debt. Considering also the burdens of USD 600 million non-financial assets, Mr Nemeth gave the full amount of net interst-bearing debt as USD 14.5 billion.

In 1985 the country's net debt was USD 4.7 billion.

Discussing the composition of the debt Mr Nemeth said Hungary owed 25 per cent of it in dollars, 30 per cent in German marks, 35 per cent in yens and the final 10 per cent in other hard currencies, half of it in Swiss franks.

He said the amount of the state debt was 950 billion forints, of which 630 billion was the compound deficit of the state budget. In all, 490 billion forints of the full state debt bear interest.

Horn Returns Home From SFRY Visit 24 May

LD2405221289 Budapest MTI in English 2045 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 24 (MTI)—"During my two-day visit to Belgrade, I held extremely meaningful, open and friendly discussions," Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said in his Belgrade statement.

"One of the aims of my trip," he continued, "was that, in keeping with the Yugoslav promise, certain documents concerning the 1956-1958 period of Hungarian history be placed at Hungary's disposal. Now we have received

the documents kept in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Archives. This is very important because it shows that both countries are ready to analyse their past which is indispensable for their further development.

"They also promised to hand over the relevant documents from the Central Archives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia within a few days. I expect that a thorough study of these documents will cast light to certain facts and provide more information about certain events.

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is determined to clarify the past," Mr Horn said. [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 2000 GMT on 24 May adds the following: "After the press briefing, Gyula Horn arrived home in the late evening hours."]

Grosz Discusses Szabolcs-Szatmar Visit

LD2405092189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Karoly Grosz visited Szabolcs-Szatmar County and answered questions by Istvan Agoston, a colleague in the radio Nyiregyhaza studio.

[Begin recording] [Agoston] On 3 April, in Zahony, when you inaugurated the settlement as a town, you promised to return and visit the railway junction. Now you have returned to Zahony, met the town's communists, and seen the railway, where you were asked 18 questions. Could you sum them up for the radio listeners in Szabolcs-Szatmar County? What did you talk about?

[Grosz] All the questions asked concerned political public life today and issues that concern both party membership and those outside the party.

[Agoston] Would you list some of them?

[Grosz] Unity, reform circles, and the nature of our relationship toward the recent Szeged consultation: This was one several questions on that issue. The other regarded the unity of the leadership, both generally and in a closer context, that is the unity of the Politburo.

Another question, which was also justified, concerned the direction of in political and economic processes. Thus, all the questions that occupy public opinion were asked.

It was unambigously reflected in the questions that political vitality is extraordinarily great. I, incidentally, support this kind of change of views in a smaller community, as a formatum because, if time allows it then generally peope will ask questions and, what is even more important, they will speak their minds. Thus a dialogue is established.

I feel that I answered every question honestly, according to my belief. Unfortunately, I took advantage of my given chance because I overran the 65 minutes I was alotted by the hosts. [end recording]

Cypriot President Vasiliou Meets Szuros 23 May

LD2305191689 Budapest MTI in English 1519 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—As reported, Yeoryios Vasiliou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, visited the aluminium factory of Budapest on Tuesday morning.

The high-ranking guest used to work here as a lathe operator during his university studies in Budapest in the early 50's.

Following the visit, Mr Vasiliou went for a short stroll down Vaci Street, Budapest's most exclusive shopping district.

Then the Cypriot president met Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, in the parliament building, and spoke about the Cyprus issue at parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee.

According to MTI, the 15-minute discussion between Mr Vasiliou and Mr Szuros mainly covered political and economic changes under way in the two countries.

The next leg of Mr Vasiliou's programme was a meeting with Erno Kemenes, president of the National Planning Office. Erno Kemeness informed Mr Vasiliou on the problems of the Hungarian economy, the main tendencies of development and the planned reforms. Mr Vasiliou raised the possibility that Cypriot companies participate in boosting the management of certain loss-making Hungarian units.

Following the discussions in the Planning Office, Minister of State Rezso Nyers visited the president of the Republic of Cyprus, at his residence.

In the afternoon at the Karl Marx University of Economics, an honorary doctorate was conferred on Mr Vasiliou at a commemorative session of the university council. As justification of the title, appreciation was given to the high-standard scientific and educational activity of the president, and his dedicated and successful work in international public life. Mr Vasiliou has undying merits in popularizing modern methods of market research and updating company management and public administration.

The new honorary doctor held an inaugural lecture entitled 'The Adaptation Capability of Small Countries to the World Economy, Through the Example of Cyprus.'

Mr Vasiliou then visited the Dunamenti agricultural cooperative of God, and viewed the Wing-game farm. He made an offer to the Hungarian side to set up a similar farm in Cyprus.

On Tuesday, Takis Nemitsas, minister of trade and industry, and leaders of the Cypriot Chamber, met with Hungarian Minister of Trade Tamas Beck. The sides reviewed economic relations between the two countries and opportunities to develop cooperation. They devoted attention to setting up joint ventures, and a joint stand on third markets. The Cypriot minister held talks about similar themes with Imre Szabo, secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry. The Cypriot businessmen held several bilateral business talks with representatives of Hungarian companies.

Seen Off by Straub

LD2405224689 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 24 (MTI)—On the last day of his four-day official visit to Hungary, Yeoryios Vasiliou, president of Cyprus, held a press conference in the parliament building on Wednesday. Among others he reported that his current talks served for establishing bilateral ties, and primarily as the basis for further developing economic cooperation. He expressed his thanks to the Hungarian Government, the country's leadership and people, for the support extended to the people of Cyprus and its government in their struggle for the fair and lasting settlement of the country's conflict.

Cyprus has an interest in forming joint companies, primarily in the food-, clothing- and possibly the pharmaceutical industry.

Following the press conference, Mr Vasiliou attended the ceremonial signing of agreements in the parliament, in the presence of Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council. The documents on the protection of investments were signed by Laszlo Bekesi, Hungarian minister of finance, Takis Nemitzas, minister of commerce and industry, and the consular agreements by Laszlo Kovacs, Hungarian deputy minister of foreign affairs and Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs.

The visit of the Cypriot guests was concluded with the signing of the agreements. Mr Vasiliou and his entourage was seen off with military honours, at a ceremony held in front of the parliament building. Subsequently the president of Republic of Cyprus departed from Hungary, seen off at Ferihegy Airport by his host, Bruno F. Straub.

Medgyessy Departs for Switzerland 22 May

AU2405102289 Budapest MTI in English 1421 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 22/05/1989—Heading a delegation, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy left for Geneva to give a lecture, "Economic Reform, Hungary's Opening to the World Economy", at the World Economic Forum, attended by the world's leading businessmen and politicians.

The Geneva meeting will offer the opportunity to managers of several Hungarian large companies, such as Tungsram, Chinion, Budavox, Ikarus, Ibusz and the Foreign Trade Bank, to hold talks on cooperation, the import of working capital and joint venture opportunities.

Mr Medgyessy is to confer with leading economic experts and businessmen of Switzerland.

MSZMP Advisory Body Favors National Conference

LD2405220789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee advisory body has taken a stand on convening a national party conference or congress, as well as on the Central Committee's draft agrarian policy conception. Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, was present at the session. The Advisory Body will submit its proposals to the Central Committee.

MSZMP To Discuss Negotiations With Opposition

LD2205215789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] At its next session expected to be held in a week's time, the Central Committee will deal with the negotiations between the party and the opposition which have been suspended since the last session of the body. Andras Toth, expert of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], has said that the party was still waiting for the replies of several political organizations to the initiative of the Central Committee. Regarding the view of the reform circles of the party that the negotiations had been halted because of the unsuitable composition of the MSZMP delegation, he said that the success of the talks depends not on personalities but on decisions by the body.

One of the leaders of the Opposition Roundtable has also confirmed that there had been no contact between his organization and the MSZMP since the 8 May Central Committee session. Peter Toelgyessy added that the Opposition Roundtable continues to maintain its earlier proposals regarding bilateral talks. In his view, it is necessary to negotiate with the responsible persons of the ruling party and not with the representatives of the Reform Circles as suggested by the MSZMP reform circles at their Szeged consultation.

Organizations Seek To Oust Education Secretary

LD2405090789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Several political organizations are requesting the removal of Andras Knopp, state secretary for education, from the educational leadership. In their open letter written to the prime minister they state that Andras Knopp is responsible for antidemocratic culture-political practice.

He was the one, incidentally, who opposed the debates to uncover the reality of the university, political, and cultural clubs, the establishment of a more liberal student press, and he also directly banned lectures. According to the Social Democratic Youth circle, the Democratic Forum Youth Committee, the Social Democratic Circle of the Free Democrats, the Rakpart Club, the Bibo college, and the National Club Council, without the removal of Andras Knopp, state secretary for education, genuine cultural reform policy is not conceivable.

Democrats Protest Assembly Decision on Ownership
LD2505012389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDSZ] protests against the National Assembly's decision on the law concerning change in ownership status at its session beginning on Monday. The organization argues that the bill was not put to wide-scale social debate. What is more, unprecedentedly, it was not even published.

According to the MDSZ, only a new National Assembly, which has a multiparty nature and created by free elections, can have the disposal of national property. Therefore, the new Hungarian economic constitution cannot be established before the elections, says a statement by the MDSZ Presidium.

1946 Conviction of Workers Leader Overturned
LD2305180989 Budapest MTI in English 1639 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—On the basis of a legal protest submitted by the chief public prosecutor, the Presidential Council of the Supreme Court established on Tuesday that the verdict passed in the 1946 trial of Pal Demeny was unlawful.

Pal Demeny, now 88, was a noted personality of the Hungarian workers' movement between the two world wars. He was imprisoned for leftist conduct on several occasions. On February 13, 1945 he was arrested and interned. In 1946 he was sentenced to four and a half years of forced labour and confiscation of property on charges of denunciation and crime against the people. After serving his term, he was interned again and in 1953 sentenced for 10 years imprisonment for plotting against the state. He was released on October 15, 1956 and a year later the Supreme Court acquitted him on the ground that the 1953 verdict was unlawful.

Minister Kulcsar on Modernization of Justice System
LD1905150889 Budapest MTI in English 1508 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—Addressing a trade union conference on Friday, Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar stressed that should the separation of state power branches and the guaranteeing of human rights be taken seriously during the process of drafting the constitution, the judicial organization has to be given more importance than any time before. The minister gave a lecture on concepts about the modernization of the administration of justice and the operation of courts.

Mr Kulcsar called for further developing the organizational and legal assurances of the independence of judges and thoroughly examining future trends in the relationship between courts and the Justice Ministry. He said there was no need for the ministry ot decide how the courts should shape their relations with the press.

Mr Kulcsar also mentioned that, due to Hungary's international agreements, certain changes have to be effected in the criminal procedure. It is necessary to introduce the judicial revision of preliminary arrests, he said. One solution is to require a court decision for the prolongation of arrests within 72 hours, or to allow citizens to appeal to the court against the attorney's decision. This problem raises the necessity of restoring the institution of the investigating magistrate which was abolished in Hungary under the Horthy regime and in 1950-51, periods when the political system assumed an authoritarian character.

Speaking about the National Judicial Council, the minister said that, in view of the autonomy of courts, in the future this body would make proposal to the president of the Republic on the appointment of judges.

Independent Lawyers' Forum Press Conference
LD2405033189 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—The aim of the Independent Lawyers' Forum, set up six months ago, is to participate in the democratic transformation process, and for its members to promote legislation with professional preparedness, it was announced on Tuesday, at the Budapest press conference of the organization.

Imre Konya, leader of the organization, stressed that the lawyers' forum hold the conviction that democracy cannot be set up with legal measures but that obstacles hindering its enforcement should be lifted. Legislation should therefore first dismantle the bureaucratic legal system and over-regulation.

According to the forum, genuine changes are needed in the chapter of the penal code that deals with anti-state crimes in the criminal proceedings. At the same time, it is necessary to frame a new press and information law, cancel the restrictive legal measures related to acquiring property, and to fully reframe the expropriation legal measure. Representatives of the Independent Lawyers' Forum note that as long as these issues are not settled, there is a danger of a political roll-back.

Monthly Carries Kadar Views on 1949 'Rajk Affair'
LD1905133789 Budapest MTI in English
0906 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—The monthly magazine "MAGYARORSZAG" has published the second in its series of interviews with Janos Kadar. The introduction, which includes replies to readers' letters, says that the interviews were conducted between March 10 and April 10, 1989, by Editor-in-Chief Andras Kanyo.

The second installment is all about the Rajk affair. Recalling the session of the central leadership of the Hungarian Workers' Party on June 11, 1989, Mr Kadar says: "According to the screenplay, as deputy general secretary and minister of the interior, I was given the unrewarding job of making the briefing address. Later on, in prison, I often thought that it wasn't by accident that I got the job. The briefing address, written by Rakosi and his associates, referred to Laszlo Rajk as head of a group of spies, with Tibor Szonyi, head of the party's cadre department, among the members...."

During the session, some indirectly refuted the accusations. Matyas Rakosi was the last contributor and he read out the proposal for the resolution, which was then accepted by the leadership.... One of the items in the resolution was that the central leadership would approve the measures of the Political Committee and the Secretariat. This also meant that they wrote out blank cheques for Rakosi, Gero and Farkas, although the committe included Rajk, Arpad Szakasits and Janos Kadar as well.

"There were some, of course, who did not believe Rajk was guilty," says Kadar in reply to a question, "but most of them were paralyzed with fear." Kadar also says that Gabor Peter, leader of the State Defence Authority (AVH), once gave an account of how they beat Rajk, but he did not confess. "I reacted by saying that I knew Rajk, and that even Horthy's police had not been able to break him. So they wouldn't get anywhere by beating him up. That's when they stopped using force."

Later, the September 3 session of the central leadership also dealt with the Rajk affair. Again, Rakosi wrote the content of the briefing. Rajk was accused of being a police informer, and an American and Gestapo spy. It was also claimed that Tito got Rajk involved in a conspiration [as received]. Rankovich, the then minister of the interior in Yugoslavia, had allegedly passed to Rajk Tito's order to liquidate the Hungarian state and Communist Party leaders, and take over the leadership. The alleged list of those to be liquidated included Rakosi, Farkas and Gero.

Kadar said it was not at that time that Rajk's wife turned to him for help, since she had been arresed. She called on him later, after Kadar had been released from prison, and he helped her search for her children and get back her husband's surname.

Rajk was buried on October 6, 1956. Asked whether this date—the anniversary of the Arad martyrs (the day 13 colonels of the 1848-49 Hungarian war of indeendence were executed)—was an intentional choice, Kadar said: "I don't remember anyone thinking that at the time".

Erdos Interviewed on Human Rights Conference
AU1605125489 Budapest MTI in English
1038 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 12/05/1989—The Friday issue of the daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries an interview with Andre Erdos, head of the Hungarian delegation to an international conference to start in Paris in late May on the issues of the human dimension, designated by the Vienna follow-up conference.

Some extracts from the interview:-

Question: What is the topic of the Paris meeting going to be?

Answer: We'll be examining the experience of participating countries on the implementation of the human dimensional mechanism, and discussing proposals and ideas aimed at making meetings and access to information more efficient.

Q: At the Vienna follow-up conference, Romania represented a separate position. What developments have there been in questions of the human dimension since then?

A: When voting on the Final Act of the Vienna follow-up conference, the Romanian delegation made a statement including its interpretations of, and reservations about, the points of the act. This says that Romania is ready to comply with the document to the extent that it accepts certain proposals. In contrast with the earlier contributions by the Romanian delegation, which objected to the statements of the Final Act on the free practice of religion, social rights and the monitoring system, this time, they did not explain what items they were referring to. It is a fact, however, that Romania totally refuses to deal with any matter connected to providing information.

Q: Has Hungary asked for information on any issue from Romania?

A: We haven't so far, but we put the offer to Romania that we would receive their delegation and let it examine the policy of the Hungarian Government towards the Romanian minority in Hungary. This followed the address delivered by the then Foreign State Secretary Gyula Horn at the UN Commission for Human Rights in February, which led the Romanian delegate to accuse Hungary of pursuing a policy aimed at eliminating the Romanian minority. Since we have still not received a

reply to our offer, we sent a circular to the foreign representations in Budapest this week about the lack of response from the Romanian side.

Q: What about other countries? Have they had any request for information?

A: Yes, they have, and the European Community, the United States and Great Britain have sent a memorandum about it to the 34 states, including Hungary.

World Bank Approves Loan for Energy Development
AU1605140889 Budapest MTI in English
1414 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 12/05/1989—The Board of the World Bank has approved a USD 100 million loan to Hungary for the development of the hydrocarbon industry and another USD 10 million for the rationalization of energy use, spokesmen for the National Bank of Hungary announced on Friday. The conditions of the loans are 15 years maturity, interest rates adjusted every six months to the rates at which [words indistinct] million forints, the equivalent of 110 million dollars, the biggest amount of working capital involved so far under the economic reform.

The Hungarian state expects to fetch close to 4,000 million forints from the tax on currency rate increase, dividends and the sale of shares, let alone the gains likely to result from the implementation of Tungsram's three-year scheme.

The transaction has helped the state to a larger sum than 30 years of tax payable on Tungsram's current profit of 260 million forints, not to speak of the 100 million dollars which improves the country's solvency position.

The Hungarian Credit Bank, however, has no wish to stand in the way of more advantageous business. As it calculated with the bureaucratic sabotage of genuine entrepreneurial activity and the obsolete proprietory attitude of certain state circles, by using a guarantee of the agreement, it has made an offer to the National Planning Office and the Finance Ministry to examine up to May 19 if there is any other more advantageous source of cash for the country. Should there be, they are prepared to restore the original condition and transfer their contractual rights. Then, the National Planning Office and the Finance Ministry will be obliged to bear moral and financial responsiblity for the new transaction, runs the communique from the Hungarian Credit Bank.

The other loan meant for the rationalization of energy use was borrowed by the National Bank of Hungary. It will be lent to users through commercial banks. The projects which can count on having a slice of the loan are ones which have the potential to reduce the specific energy demands of production and consumption or promote the spread of energy-saving technologies.

Hungary got the first World Bank loan for the development of the hydrocarbon industry in 1984. That agreement was worth USD 90 million for Hungary and the programme it financed produced 25,000 tons more oil and 8 billion cubic metres more gas. The saving on hard currency imports and sales for hard currency yielded the country another USD 900 until the end of last year.

The new development programme is supposed to give the Hungarian Oil and Gas Trust up-to-date information systems—indispensable if a company wants to be involved in international oil trade.

The energy rationalization programmes were started in 1983 when Hungary received a World Bank loan of USD 109 million. In 1986 another USD 25 million dollar programme followed.

The energy rationalization package financed 68 projects, and the total saving exceeded the planned consumption level by 10 per cent.

University Strike Over Union Registration

LD2405164189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] We showed this video yesterday, saying just one thing: A strike was declared at Warsaw University after the [registration] hearing. Today the GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote that, "In the course of the deliberations we received that tele-express had just announced that there had been an occupation strike at the university since noon. This influenced the final decision to announce an indefinite occupation strike."

There is a considerable difference between the phrases, "a strike was declared," and "There had been an occupation strike at the university since noon." Next time we will just conclude that the declarations were produced just for the filming.

After the court's decision yesterday not to register the Independent Union of Students (NZS), strike action was undertaken at several Warsaw higher educational establishments. Other academic centers in the country have also joined the strikes. Let us recall that at the roundtable the coalition-government signed a statement that there are socio-political conditions for the registration of the NZS. The law on associations, also discussed there, does not envision the right to strike—the rest is a matter of the independence of the courts.

AFP Reports Student Strike

AU2405142489 Paris AFP in English 1400 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24 (AFP)—A strike call by students gathered support around Poland on Wednesday one day after a court refused to legalize the banned Independent Students Association (NZS), a group leader said.

The Solidarity union criticized the decision, which Tuesday prompted a clash here between 200 students and police who brutally dispersed the protestors.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa called it a violation of government promises to institute democratic changes. He promised support for the pro-Solidarity NZS and offered the use of Solidarity offices.

Hundreds of Warsaw University students, who first issued the call for an open-ended strike Tuesday, continued their protest Wednesday. The movement spread to the Polytechnic and Fine Arts schools in Warsaw and other establishments.

Strikes also hit Lodz University in central Poland and students in Wroclaw, in the southwest, though the number of protestors was not immediately known.

At the northern port of Gdansk, a Solidarity stronghold, a 24-hour warning strike started with students occupying some university buildings. The Gdansk students said they would give authorities until Monday to reverse the court decision, before starting an unlimited strike.

Student protests were also reported in Lublin in the east, and a protest march was planned for Wednesday in the southern city of Krakow.

To back the student action, Mr. Walesa issued a statement Wednesday charging that the court's refusal to legalize the NZS was "a violation of decisions" agreed between the opposition and the government in April.

The accord re-legalized Solidarity and spelled out a program of political and economic reforms.

"This worries Solidarity, which will never drop its support for the struggle for legalization led by the NZS," he said. The NZS represents 20 to 25 per cent of the 250,000 university-level students in Poland.

Committee Spokesman Interviewed

LD2405185389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] And there is still some news about the student action from Lodz:

[Begin recording] [Szymanderski] My name is Szymanderski, I am a fourth year student in the Law Department and I am currently the press spokesman of the Independent Students Union [NZS] strike committee.
[Reporter] Today is the 1st day of the sit-in strike of students of Lodz University and the Medical Academy.
[Szymanderski] We took this decision during the night, after midnight at a moment when we found out late yesterday afternoon about the refusal to register the union. It became clear to us that we must undertake some sort of action.
[Reporter] Why a sit-in strike?
[Szymanderski] Because this is the strongest form of protest at our disposal.
[Reporter] How long do you anticipate this strike will last?
[Szymanderski] This will depend, above all, on how it will turn out for us. If it works out, then we'll push it home. If it doesn't work out for us, we'll have to change the form of the protest.
[Reporter] What does it mean that the strike will or won't work?
[Szymanderski] What is at issue is how many people there will be.
[Reporter] Is this strike working at the moment or not?
[Szymanderski] There are already several dozen people, and this is growing. In the end, there's also a strike at the Technical University at the moment. Some of the people are disillusioned. I think that this will develop as...
[Reporter interrupts] Tell me briefly—what are you demanding?
[Szymanderski] We are demanding, above all, the legalisation of the NZS. This has been agreed at the roundtable. The sides (?coming to agreement) at the roundtable knew the statutes of the union and there was no mention that the union would be registered subject to some conditions. It was supposed to be registered, full stop. At the moment, we are being set ever new conditions. We have partly changed the statute. We will not change the statute any more.

[Reporter] And these slogans on the gates—"Down With the Commies"—what connection does this have with the relegalization of the union? After all, this is in the court's powers.
[Szymanderski] It is precisely thanks to a communist court that we are not relegalized. This is not dependent only on Lodz. We will try to find some other form of protest. It is probable that we will wait through this long [words indistinct] we will still try to do something during the session, and if not, then in that case, classes will not begin next year.

Further PAP Reports on Strikes

LD2405194589 Warsaw PAP in English
1823 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—In connection with the refusal to register the NZS Independent Students' activists of this organization started an action of disturbing peace at several universities in Warsaw.

About 300 students at Warsaw University (which constitutes about 2 percent of students attending daytime courses) intend to stay in the university buildings overnight on a "sit-in."

At the Sgpis Business Administration School, about 200-250 people gathered at a rally at 11.30 a.m. 10 participants spoke in favour of staying overnight in the university. Disregarding the outcome of voting, the organizers decided to postpone the decision about a sit-in strike till 5 p.m. by which time the NZS headquarters will issue directives.

Students at the Warsaw Plytechynics also undertook action of this type. Students wearing NZS armbands blocked entrances to lecture halls and prevented other students from taking part in normal studies.

The exam period begins at Warsaw schools of higher learning this coming Monday.

Court Defends Union Decision

LD2405202189 Warsaw PAP in English
1841 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—The press spokesman for the Warsaw Voivodship Court made a statement for PAP in connection with the Solidarity spokesman's statement published in GAZETA WYBORCZA today in the wake of the decision refusing registration of the Independent Students' Union NZS. Excerpts:

"The ruling by the Warsaw Voivodship Court which refused to register NZS does not run counter to the law, as the Solidarity spokesman claims. The ruling has been based on a legal ground, that is, the law on associations which was consulted and drafted with the participation and support of all social forces which took part in the round table talks, representatives of opposition-Solidarity forces included.

As it is known, the law does not envisage the right to strike for associations nor is such rights envisaged in the law on higher education or in the higher school's regulations.

As for the round table talks, I want to recall that its fundamental agreement said that none of the participants in the talks shall question the principle of independence of the courts of law and independence of the judiciary. The court's ruling is an expression of this.

Strikes Spread; Demonstrations

LD2405215189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 24 May 89

[Excerpts] In connection with the refusal to register the Independent Students' Union [NZS], activists of this organization have undertaken actions disturbing the peace in the capital's higher education establishments. [passage omitted]

A group of students from the Medical Academy and the University in Lodz have embarked on a sit-in strike, and some of the Technical University's students have announced a 14-hour warning strike. In Katowice, several dozen students of Slask University marched through the streets to the party voivodship committee building in an illegal procession. Also in Czestochowa, demonstrating students of the Technical University and of the Higher Pedagogical School reached the party voivodship committee building. A similar demonstration took place in Lublin. In Wroclaw, rallies took place at all eight higher education institutions of this city, and decisions were taken on a sit-in strike.

Walesa on Student Union

LD2405215989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] A communique from the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, signed by Lech Walesa, states that the refusal to register the Independent Students Union [NZS] constitutes a transgression against a roundtable decision, which brings about a fundamental uneasiness in Solidarity. We state with full force that Solidarity will not forego the (?phase) of the legalization of the NZS. We will demand this in the Roundtable Coordinating Commission. Solidarity will make its premises available to the NZS until the time of its legalization. I am convinced, states Lech Walesa, that the matter of the legalisation of the NZS will be treated by the deputies and senators of the Solidarity Citizens Committee in our parliament as one that is important and urgent. It is worth recalling that on 27 April in Gdansk, during a news conference, Lech Walesa stated that he had suggested to the NZS that it forego the stipulation in its statute relating to strikes. Worldwide, associations do not have this right. It is thus necessary to have a little common sense, added Lech Walesa.

Solidarity Criticizes Government

AU2405114889 Paris AFP in English
1138 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24 (AFP)—Solidarity criticized the Polish leadership Wednesday after a court here refused to register the banned Independent Students Association and police brutally dispersed a student protest.

Students at many universities across the nation meanwhile announced protests against the court action.

The failure to legalize the pro-Solidarity group was a "political provocation that occurred at a very dangerous moment," the opposition newspaper GAZETA said in an editorial.

"Government propaganda is looking for a confrontation," the weekly added, noting that "social discontent is very widespread" in Poland.

"Even if the students are not always very reasonable, the leadership should show moderation," it said.

Leaders of the union's Warsaw branch voiced support for a strike call issued by Warsaw University students Tuesday after the verdict was announced.

Police brutally dispersed a protest by 200 striking students here Tuesday.

Warsaw University students called an open-ended strike, but observers said the strike is likely to be only partially followed here because students are due to start exams next week.

Gdansk Workers Demonstrate Against Closure

AU2505070789 Paris AFP in English
2339 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, May 24 (AFP)—Nearly 5,000 workers headed by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa demonstrated here Wednesday against a government decision to close down the Lenin shipyards, birthplace and stronghold of the independent union.

The government indicated on December 1 that it wanted to close down the shipyards within two years, as part of an economic policy of divesting itself of unprofitable industries.

The demonstrators, who included some of Mr. Walesa's close advisors such as Bogdan Lis, co-signatory of the August 1980 accords under which the authorities first recognised Solidarity, gathered at the foot of a monument to workers who died when an uprising in Poland's Baltic ports was crushed in December 1970.

"Keep Lenin, the shipyards are ours," the workers cried repeatedly, as Mr. Walesa declared that he would be "the last to leave the yards where Solidarity was born".

Addressing the crowd, the Nobel Peace Prize winner called on them to turn out and vote not only for Solidarity candidates but for those who, he said, were in favour of establishing democracy in Poland in the near future.

General elections are scheduled to be held in the country on June 4.

The demonstrators then marched through the streets of Gdansk, witnesses said. The police, who kept a very low profile, did not intervene.

The Lenin Shipyards Solidarity branch committee meanwhile condemned the refusal of the Warsaw regional court on Tuesday to legalise the banned Independent Students Association (NZS).

In a statement, it described the rejection as a "provocation" and a "violation" of the round-table discussions of February-April between the authorities and the opposition.

Some 15,000 students from all over the country have responded with a wave of strikes and occupations of university and higher education buildings in major cities.

The decision not to legalise the banned student organisation earlier sparked a violent clash between students and police.

Solidarity To Cooperate With Hungarian Unions

AU2505072789 Paris AFP in English
2353 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24 (AFP)—A delegation from Hungary's League of Independent Trade Unions met in Gdansk Wednesday with the leader of Poland's independent Solidarity union Lech Walesa, union sources said.

The officials agreed to continue contacts and to draw up "as quickly as possible" a "programme of cooperation" on the "struggle for freedom and democracy", the sources said.

Mr. Walesa accepted "with pleasure" an invitation by the delegation to visit Hungary at a date yet to be fixed. The delegates told Mr. Walesa that Solidarity had been a "source of inspiration" to the independent union movement in Hungary.

The Solidarity leader said that "pluralism and liberty" in trade union matters were for Poland and Hungary "the guarantee of the development of reforms aimed at overcoming the after-effects of Stalinism".

A Solidarity official would attend the opening in Budapest on Saturday of the Hungarian trade union Worker Solidarity, Mr. Walesa said.

The Hungarian delegation included Pokorni Zoltan of the Democratic Union of Teachers, Fenyes Gabor of the Independent Union of Building Administration Employees, Janosi Levente of Worker Solidarity, Ory Csaby of the Free Union of Scientific Researchers and Buda Geza of the Polish-Hungarian Solidarity Association.

Mr. Walesa was accompanied at the talks by Bogdan Lis, co-signatory of the historic August 1980 accords which gave birth to Poland's independent workers' organisation.

Solidarity's 'Lack of Arguments' Viewed

AU2405154989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 May 89 p 3

[Waldemar Gontarski commentary: "Lesson on the Gwda River"]

[Excerpts] A crash course in political culture for everyone. That is the most concise way of describing the election campaign. Voters have the opportunity not only to discuss the problems they are encountering, but also to find out how future parliamentarians react to these problems. This is an example of direct contacts between society and the authorities. [passage omitted]

The candidates and the voters agree that we do not have much time to emerge from the crisis and pay our debts. This is making everyone impatient, and is stirring up emotions.

However, these emotions are being exploited by the opposition, which is steering the election campaign onto the path of confrontation. A good example of this occurred during Saturday's election meeting of Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and General Florian Siwicki with the electorate of the city of Pila on the island in the middle of the Gwda river. A young girl shouted into a microphone that the government is bad because it is letting the election campaign take place at the state's expense. But she did not say a word about what she meant. In fact, it is the "Solidarity" aktivists of Pila who gave a good lesson in "political culture." On the one hand, they reduced the level of their demagogy, but on the other hand they showed their "trump" cards. Youth and arrogance permit them to mingle with crowds and mouth things that are not backed by arguments. Perhaps instead of presenting arguments, it is enough to attach a notice to a tree with the message "Vote for 'Solidarity'"?

Glemp Interviewed on Elections, Church Law

AU2405133989 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNY in Polish 22 May 89 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, by SLOWO POWSZECHNY correspondent Antoni Kaplinski and INTERPRESS correspondent Maciej Gorski: "Interview with the Primate of Poland by SLOWO POWSZECHNY and INTERPRESS Correspondents"—Rome, 21 May]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Question: What does Your Eminence think of the "roundtable," and what is the church's attitude toward the forthcoming elections?

Answer: The "roundtable" talks gave birth to the election program. As far as I can tell, people in Poland are interested in the elections, and are even emotionally involved in them. They wish to vote for the best candidates according to their convictions, and I think the political groups that are putting up candidates, and even those who have presented themselves as candidates, realize that they are contributing something new and valuable to the country's social, political, and economic situation. These people have confidence in priests. We have no political program. I once said that there is no political group or party that fully reflects the church's interests. Believers and Catholics are situated in various political groups. Today, one's beliefs no longer determine the political group to which one should belong.

Question: What does Your Eminence think of the Church-State Relations Act passed by the Sejm 2 weeks ago? This is surely a great event in the life of the Catholic Church.

Answer: It is an enormously significant and historic thing, and has been worked out very conscientiously. The history of this act is very rich. It consists of many periods. However, the strength of good will has brought about its adoption. It involves a huge sphere of social life connected with the church. It is an original act, not based on any previous model. It suits our conditions and possibilities. It is a reflection of the church's valuable achievements, efforts, and contributions for the good of society. For the state, too, it is a major step forward in an important sector of public life, the sector of public order and prevention of conflict situations.

Question: Now that the act has been passed, can one expect a rapid establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See?

Answer: Yes, I think we can expect this to happen quite soon. I cannot give a specific date, but it should happen soon, because the barriers to it have been removed. [passage omitted]

Bisztyga Interviewed on Election Campaign

AU2405134289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 May 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jan Bisztyga, spokesman of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, by Andrzej Dzierzanowski: "The Party Is Competing for Support and People"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Dzierzanowski] We have entered a decisive stage of the Sejm and Senate election campaign. What place does the Polish United Workers Party occupy in it?

[Bisztyga] The party is not accustomed to election battles like this. We are encountering new phenomena, some of which are even shocking. In order to take them in our stride, we have adopted a flexible line of conduct. It

includes a democratic selection of candidates. Our candidates are well-known to society. They were selected during conventions of party members, and these conventions were preceded by consultations with various social communities. Our candidates enjoy society's support, for each of them has collected at least 3,000 signatures. Some have even collected over 10,000 signatures. We decided to select our candidates democratically, not like "Solidarity" and the opposition, who have simply nominated their candidates the way we did in Stalinist times.

We made sure that our candidates represent various professions, the workers class, and the peasantry. After all, the parliament should not be a representation of an elite; it should be a representation of the entire people. Therefore, we could not afford to conduct an election campaign according to the slogan "Vote for our candidates, and fight the others." Such a modus operandi can only be pursued by people who want power at any price and wish to avoid responsibility for the future. We believe the best people should be elected. Anyone who can guarantee that he will act in the nation's interest and for the sake of the changes and reforms that must take place in Poland in the next few years can be elected Sejm deputy or senator.

[Dzierzanowski] Society has had enough of appeals and declarations. It wants action, also from the future Sejm deputies and senators. Are the party candidates in a position to comply?

[Bisztyga] We are acquainted with society's moods. Our candidates have experience and personal achievements in implementing various tasks. They will demonstrate their qualities to society not by means of words, but by means of their achievements.

We consider it important that our candidates compete with others according to the rules of political culture, so that the election struggle is not spoiled by various distortions, one of which is irresponsible statements.

[Dzierzanowski] The elections are costing money. Candidates have their staff, and they need all kinds of promotional material. Where does the party obtain the money for the election campaign?

[Bisztyga] We only use our own funds. We are against financial support from outside. Foreign propaganda or material support for any political force in Poland proves that the force in question is not independent. Poles are very sensitive to independence and liberty. Once, the Communists were accused of not being independent, of being under the control of a foreign manipulating body. No one has the right to make such accusations today. We are a sovereign people, a sovereign state, and a sovereign party. All the decisions are in our hands.

The election funds stem from party membership dues and additional donations from members and party supporters. Economic initiatives, such as social pledges undertaken by many party organizations, have supplied a lot of money. We are not setting up a central election fund. Funds for election purposes are in the hands of party candidates and other candidates who support the party. Candidates also enjoy financial support from their employers or communities.

Baka Discusses Economic Roundtable Decisions

LD2405230389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] A team supervising the implementation of the decisions taken at the roundtable, concerning social and economic policy and system changes, has met in Warsaw for the first time. The team exists and works within the framework of the Socioeconomic Policy Commission of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, a commission which is chaired by Wladyslaw Baka:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Professor, you are one of the signatories of the roundtable agreements. Today, the specially appointed team has, for the first time, assessed the implementation of these decisions. Are you satisfied?

[Baka] It is difficult to answer this in one sentence. I think that there is substantial progress in implementation, but there are also delays on certain points, and we have tried to explain what the causes of these delays are, and what ought to be done to remove them. And in this way, because we have undertaken such action, (we are?) ensuring that the appointment of this team for social and party supervision over the implementation of the agreements has great sense, has great justification since there are issues in relation to which the administration itself will not cope—what is needed is political support. There is also, within the administration itself a feeling that the program has been put down—there is this demoralization—the program has been put aside, life goes on, and this cannot be so here. Here, the program must be literally, exactly, thoroughly implemented. And this is also, it may be said, a sort of team of concern, concern in relation to all those milieux which are obliged to undertake various activities, to introduce them into everyday life.

[Reporter] And what causes particular concern?

[Baka] There are no matters which give rise to particular concern at the moment. That is, there were certain reservations concerning the issuing of certain legal acts in the form of laws and in the form of executive regulations. The delays in relation to some of these matters are, let's say, 3 to 4 week ones, but this is no drama—this can totally be made up, and that is why we are here, to keep within this timetable.

Czyzewski's Holds News Conference 17 May

AU2305213989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 May 89 p 5

[Captain Apolinary Wojtys report on news conference by Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski in Warsaw on 17 May: "Conference by Ministry of National Defense Spokesman"]

[Text] Ministry of National Defense spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski held a press conference on 17 May, with military and other journalists in Warsaw's garrison club "Behind the Iron Gate." Lt Col Czyzewski stressed that he would like to make such conferences a regular feature, and if possible, organize them on a more systematic basis.

He began by answering the question which has most recently been directed at the military authorities, namely, the relation of the army, as a socio-professional grouping, to the transformations currently taking place in Poland, and to the new phenomena and forces in our sociopolitical life.

The answer to the above is unambiguous, replied I. Czyzewski. The Army is a reform-oriented force, comprehensively supporting the process of change. At the same time it is a factor of stability in Poland, and considers that this stability is paramount to the success of the reform efforts.

This general position takes into account several fundamental considerations, which guide us in our intentions and opinions. First, we consider that the security of the state is a matter which rises above all possible differences of views that there may be. Thus, it cannot become a matter of any negotiations, let alone political ones. Second, the armed forces are a symbol of the state's sovereignty, and as such cannot be reduced below a minimum defensive capability. Third, the armed forces are interested in conducting a dialogue with those groups and organizations which respect the law, and the Polish raison d'etat. Fourth, the fundamental element of this raison d'etat is the historically shaped alliance with the Soviet Union, which is the guarantee of our security.

The Army's support for the transformations is not mere lip service, nor is it a feature of the last few months. It is exemplified by many concrete, responsible undertakings, inculcated for many years now, and whose importance goes far beyond the military sphere.

Among the undertakings currently being put into effect are, among others, the restructuring of the Army, making army life more human, and the implementation of a new military service training system for students and graduates of higher schools.

The Restructuring of the Army

In accordance with the defensive nature of our military doctrine, this restructuring encompasses organizational changes, as well as total personnel numbers, and quantities of military equipment currently held. In this and the following year there will be, among other things, a further reduction of the armed forces by 40,000 troops, by about 850 tanks, 900 artillery guns and mortars, 700 transporters, and 80 aircraft.

Last Friday, stressed the National Defense Ministry spokesman, Sejm deputies from the Commission of National Defense, formulating a motion approving the accounts of the minister of national defense, highlighted the fact that this ministry, conscious of the difficult economic situation of the country, has for several years now been reducing its requirements and relating the totality of its expenditure to the capabilities of the national economy. There has been a systematic reduction of expenditure from 1987. Furthermore, as a result of the restructuring of the army, among other things, a part of the defense industry production potential is being dispensed with.

The Democratization and Humanization of Army Life

This is a long-term undertaking. The results of the changes introduced should lead to better conditions for the respect of each soldier's individual dignity. This process reflects the comprehensive restructuring of the social and material conditions related to a soldier's life, which will provide possibilities of intellectual, cultural, and professional development for each individual. Young people should not consider military service solely as a burden, an obligation, and a disciplinary straitjacket. At that important time of their life, young Poles ought to become familiar with discipline and duty, and strengthen their conviction that these qualities do not clash with their recreational pursuits, their free time spent beneficially, and the unfettered development of their own personality.

The abolition of many disciplinary measures which will not prejudice an appropriate defensive capability has been announced. For example, in the very near future every new recruit will receive a furlough pass as one of his permanent documents on the day he takes the military oath.

Reform of the Military Service and Defensive Training System Applicable to Students and Graduates of Higher Schools

For the moment this is just a project. Members of the appropriate Sejm commissions have been made familiar with it, and it is anticipated that it will come into effect on 4 September of this year. Consultations with student

representatives are still going on and thus the possibility of further modifications cannot be precluded. However the basic concept has been approved, and is as follows:

—First, military service training for graduates will last for 5 months. Candidates designated for command and technical posts in general military specializations will undertake their training exclusively in the Reserve Officer Cadet School. Others, whose field of study is not compatible with their designated military specialization (for example computer specialists, translators, lawyers) will undergo a 1-2 months theory course in the Reserve Officer Cadet School, and then have 3-4 months practical experience with military units.

—Second, arts graduates who show they are the sole bread winners in their family, and those who are in the middle of their doctoral studies, will be exempted from military service training.

—Third, the possibility of doing alternative service is being introduced for those who for personal reasons refuse to do military service.

—Fourth, fundamental changes in military and defense schooling programs are about to take place, and this will also lead to a shortening of their duration.

—Fifth, officer cadets of the Reserve Officer Cadet School currently at the school or undergoing practical training with military units will move into the reserves during the transitional period (most probably at the end of August).

Other military experts who participated in the conference were General of Brigade Tadeusz Kojder, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army; Gen of Brigade Doctor Ryszard Muszynski, chief of the Military Service Training Board; Colonel Doctor Kazimierz Nalazkowski, deputy chief of the Legal Department of the Ministry of National Defense; and Col Zbigniew Poczatek, chief of the Post Military Service Training Board. Together with I. Czyzewski they comprehensively answered all the questions put to them by the journalists. Among the questions asked was a question on the partial withdrawal of units of the Soviet Army Northern Group Forces from Poland, and a question on the Army's contribution to the national economy in the current year. Answering the former, Lt Col Czyzewski said that this year's anticipated withdrawal would include an antiaircraft rocket regiment, a tank regiment, a motorized unit, and a helicopter squadron. The year 1990 will see the departure from Poland of an independent commando brigade. Decisions regarding the detailed schedule of this withdrawal will be made later this month, in conformity with Mikhail Gorbachev's announcement at the United Nations last December. Journalists will be able to monitor these withdrawals. The first formation to be withdrawn is a tank regiment from Strachow in the Legnica Voivodship and a motorized unit from Swidnica.

Journalists received the following details in response to the latter question: About 48,000 soldiers and cadets will be involved in work for the national economy, and the value of this work is calculated at Z140 billion. Troops will be involved in airport and subway construction in Warsaw, water reservoir construction in Silesia, the construction of the north-south and south highways, and the recultivation of agricultural land in 16 voivodships. About 34,000 hectares of land will be reclaimed. Worthy of note is the fact that in many instances the Army will provide specialist technical aid. Moreover, in April and May alone, there will be over 100 "white" Saturdays and Sundays organized [as published]. The journalists were also led to understand that the Army itself farms about 10,000 hectares, including 23 hectares "under glass." Thanks to this, and other factors, it is self-sufficient in fruit and vegetables, and covers half of its requirement for meat.

Party Document on Stalinism Adopted

AU2305123089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 89 p 3

["Stance of the National Delegates Conference on Eliminating the Vestiges and Consequences of Stalinism in Poland," adopted by the National Conference of Polish United Workers Party Delegates in Warsaw on 5 May]

[Text] The National Conference of Delegates shares the view of the 10th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Plenum on eliminating the vestiges and consequences of Stalinism in Poland, and considers it essential to establish effective guarantees against centralist-bureaucratic distortions and against undemocratic ways of running the state, economy, and society. This is the party's political and moral duty.

Eliminating the vestiges of Stalinism possesses an international dimension. It involves the community of socialist countries. It is an essential condition for the development of socialism in a new shape.

The revolutionary "perestroyka" program that is being implemented in the Soviet Union is of major importance for the future of the entire socialist formation and its final liberation from the burdens of Stalinism. The convergence of the Polish renewal and Soviet restructuring is according PZPR-CPSU cooperation a particularly important role in explaining the complex phenomena of our joint history and eliminating their negative consequences in accordance with the letter and spirit of the April 1987 declaration.

1. Stalinism was a distortion of the process of shaping a socialist society. It was a violation of the fundamental ideals and humanitarian values of socialism, social justice, people's rule, and human dignity. It hampered socialism's development and restricted its creative possibilities. It cast a hostile shadow on socialism's moral countenance. In the internal life of the party, it made itself felt by replacing democracy with blatant centralism and by forbidding criticism. Most of all, it made itself

felt in the form of repressive state activity; violations of the law, and an unfounded and criminal persecution of alleged enemies of the system.

Stalinism was a tragedy of the Soviet peoples, who suffered the greatest losses. It also caused major losses and suffering to other peoples, as well as the entire international communist and workers movement.

Its first Polish victims were the leaders and aktivists of the Polish Communist Party, who were annihilated in the Soviet Union in the thirties. This party was dissolved following provocative accusations. Later, according to Polish historians, Polish officers who took part in the defense struggle in 1939 were also annihilated. Polish citizens residing in former eastern territories of the Second Republic and forcibly deported into the depths of the USSR also experienced the effects of Stalinism painfully.

2. In the middle of the forties, the left wing assumed responsibility for building a new Polish statehood under exceptionally complicated domestic and international conditions. The difficult process of establishing a Polish model of people's democracy was cut short by the Stalinist-dogmatic turnabout in the policies of the PPR [Polish Workers Party] in 1948. The previous PPR-proclaimed Polish road to socialism was suddenly regarded as rightwing-nationalistic deviation. The contribution to the workers movement made by the PPS [Polish Socialist Party], especially the traditions of struggle for independence and the ideals of socialist humanitarianism and democracy, was rejected.

Poland, remaining in a close alliance with the Soviet Union dictated by national interests, and enjoying Soviet political support and economic aid during the most difficult postwar years, support which led, among other things, to the regaining of the northern and western territories, found itself under the influence of the system which existed in the Soviet Union then. The process of Stalinism progressed by violating the principles of sovereignty, equality, and partnership in relations between the USSR and Poland, and between the CPSU and PZPR. However, Stalinism was also encouraged by internal Polish factors, in the shape of views and attitudes professed by a part of the Polish party and state apparatus.

An assessment of the sources of these distortions cannot omit objective factors. The highly centralized economic management methods were brought on by the need to achieve rapid social progress, especially by the need to accumulate the necessary resources for the rapid industrialization of a country that was economically backward and ruined by the war. The fact that the new system shaped and established itself under "cold war" conditions had a major effect on the way power was exercized. The system had to look for development paths. It had few cadres at its disposal, and those it did have had no experience in running a state.

3. Just like the other countries that were embarking upon the path of socialist change, Poland painfully felt the effects of Stalinism in every sphere of life. It weakened the economic, social, cultural, and educational achievements of the interwar years. A centralist, bureaucratic system of power which restricted civic and political rights hung over society. A series of social organizations, including youth associations, were dissolved. The country's economically and socially necessary industrialization was carried out in an arbitrary way, with social costs that bore no relation to the effects. In agriculture, there were attempts to impose compulsory collectivization, using brutal methods, and in the teeth of peasant opposition. The Poles painfully felt the disappearance of many values of national culture and traditions, with all their symbols, and the unequal relations with the USSR. The period of great political transformations and ideological and political clashes also created dramatic tension in relations between the state and church. The result of this was an administrative curb on the religious activity of the church and other denominations.

Repressive state activity and violations of the law made themselves felt painfully. Unfounded and unlawful persecution was experienced by thousands of innocent citizens who were searching for or had already found a place for themselves in the new reality. Many people of a communist and workers background, joint authors of the new social system, also fell victim to the repressions.

However, establishing the truth of those times requires a clear demarcation between the lawlessness, repressions, and violations of the rule of law on the one hand, and the people's state's justified and legal self-defense against its internal and external opponents on the other. These opponents frequently employed ruthless methods of struggle against people devoted to the process of change.

When condemning the violation of the rule of law, it ought to be remembered that hundreds of thousands of young workers and peasants—members and aktivists of the PZPR and allied parties and youth organizations, militia and security service officials, and soldiers—were genuinely devoted to the new reality. They formed and consolidated people's rule, and fought its opponents. No one has the right to undermine and discredit this attitude, this revolutionary zeal and frequent sacrifice.

4. In Poland, Stalinism fell on highly infertile ground. It established itself with great difficulty, for it was completely contrary to the traditions of freedom and social consciousness of Poles, and contrary to the spirit of Polish culture. Opposition to Stalinism existed and arose inside the PZPR and allied parties. Peasants' retention of their family farms, the protest of workers against policies which ignored their life's needs and against the bureaucratic system of economic management, the opposition of intellectuals against cultural policy, society's attitude toward the national heritage, the church's independent position —all this restricted the scope and extent of the Stalinist deformations to Polish social life.

The phenomenon of Stalinism did not reach such broad and tragic proportions as in the Soviet Union and other countries with people's democracy.

5. In 1956, the PZPR condemned Stalinism. It uncovered and firmly dissociated itself from the violations of the law, and continued the process of rehabilitation that had been started earlier.

The rehabilitation carried out between 1954 and 1957, combined with a far-reaching reorganization of the Security Service and the imposition of legal sanctions on those guilty of breaking the rule of law, had no parallel in any other socialist country.

Nevertheless, criticism of Stalinism did not reach the roots of the distortions, and was not consistent enough. Various consequences of Stalism were not overcome, and continued to act as a burden on the life of the party, state, economy, and society for many more years. This sowed the seeds of future misfortune and future social conflicts.

6. A clear definition of responsibility for the unfounded repressions must form an inseparable part of the settling of accounts with Stalinism. Boleslaw Bierut was the key political figure of this period. Although his services during the war and during the formation of a Polish socialist statehood within new, just borders cannot be denied, present knowledge of history permits one to say that Boleslaw Bierut carries major blame for Stalinization in Poland, including the violations of the rule of law. He inspired numerous unjustified trials and high court sentences. He brought about the false indictments against and unfounded imprisonment of key PPR aktivists, especially Wladyslaw Gomulka and Marian Spychalski. He opposed the process of de-Stalinization in Poland even after the deaths of Stalin and Beria.

This activity of Boleslaw Bierut cannot be forgotten.

Responsibility for the implementation of the policy of repression rests on the PZPR Politburo of the time, as well as the Politburo commission which supervised the work of law enforcement bodies. Apart from Boleslaw Bierut, this commission consisted of Jakub Berman and Stanislaw Reperowicz. Hilary Minc, Franciszek Jozwiaka, and Franciszek Mazur also took part in its work. A particularly evil role was played by the then Ministry of Public Security, especially the 10th department, and the leaderships of military bodies of justice.

7. The National Conference of Delegates is in favor of a total political and moral rehabilitation of the victims of the Stalinist lawlessness and their families, and is concerned that they be remembered.

We condemn the activity that led to the unlawful imprisonment of many people, the torture of these people, and the trials which violated the legal principles that were recognized at that time. We commit the perpetrators of this activity to harsh political and moral judgment.

We are petitioning the relevant state bodies that periods of time spent in labor camps or prison be considered for pension purposes.

We underline the importance of the work of the team, chaired by the first president of the Supreme Court, responsible for the rehabilitation of those wrongly imprisoned for political reasons between 1944 and 1955. The public ought to be informed of the work of this team.

We suggest that the PZPR Deputies Club petition the Sejm to issue a stance on those legal instruments of the Stalinist era that are a violation of the constitution and rule of law, and which form the basis of unjustified repressions, for example, punishments for so-called whispered propaganda, for violations of "socialist work discipline," for failing to supply compulsory agricultural produce, and so on. This would provide moral and political satisfaction for all those who were convicted on the strength of these instruments.

8. The National Conference of Delegates stresses that one cannot build a nation's successful future out of a negation of its past. The past cannot be assessed from the angle of mere history, on the basis of pure emotion and short-sighted political argumentation, without taking into account the complicated background of those times. It is necessary to carry out a frank and honest assessment of those years, objectively revealing everything that contributed to the history of People's Poland. The Stalinist distortions cannot eclipse the real achievement of those years—the social, cultural, and economic advancement of the masses; the great work of renewal; the commencement of the country's social and industrial development; the propagation of national culture; the reconstruction of many national monuments; the democratization of education; the husbanding of land; and the provision of firm guarantees of the inviolability of Poland's borders. All this work was also performed during the period 1948-56.

We accord respect and recognition to the creators of this achievement—the millions of working people; Polish workers, peasants, and intellectuals; members of our party and the allied parties; members of social organizations; and everyone else who rebuilt our country and contributed to its development.

The conference firmly opposes the antisocialist practice of exploiting painful chapters of history and claiming that Stalinist distortions are a feature of our system. One must counteract attempts to inject into the consciousness of society the belief that Stalinism is the same as socialism. It is also necessary to draw a clear dividing line between, on

the one hand, Stalinism and its manifestations and distortions; and, on the other hand, the trouble and shortcomings of state life as a result of the inefficiency of bodies of authority, the weakness of social control, bureaucracy, an inability to manage efficiently, and a lack of political and civic culture. In any case, these deformations may occur at any time, under any system, and are connected with the functioning of state and society.

9. By performing a critical-minded assessment of the past, the party is showing not its weakness, but, on the contrary, its moral strength and its respect for the people to whom it is telling the truth.

The PZPR adopted a stance on condemning Stalinism and removing its vestiges from Poland at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Conference in 1981, in a report on the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland in 1983, and in the 10th Plenum resolution in 1989. The conference believes that the profound political and socioeconomic reforms will lead to a full elimination of the consequences of Stalinism, and will provide permanent guarantees against a return of centralist-bureaucratic ways of economic and political life, and autocratic ways of exercising authority.

This is the profound essence of the renewal and changes leading to socialist parliamentary democracy, self-government by a civic society, a rational economy that is based on economic laws and is capable of harmonizing justice, efficiency, and man's supremacy in the labor process. That is the essence of the changes in the party, which wants to perform its political work by political methods, in partnerlike cooperation with its coalition allies, in close partnership with the working people, in accordance with the requirements of democracy and the rule of law.

We expect the 11th PZPR Conference to draw essential conclusions from this stance and implement the tasks therein.

10. A settling of accounts with Stalinism and its vestiges that is free of oversimplification calls for further solid historical research and analysis and a revealing of all the sources, manifestations, and effects of Stalinism. We request this of historians, sociologists, political scientists, economists, lawyers, and all relevant scientific institutions. We consider it essential that the relevant part and state authorities grant access to archives.

11. By subjecting the phenomenon of Stalinism and its essence, mechanisms, manifestations, and effects to analysis and unequivocal political assessment, the PZPR wishes to bring about a final elimination from sociopolitical practice of all the consequences of Stalinism, strengthen the guarantees that prevent its repetition, and to close once and for all that chapter of our country's life in which memories of Stalinist distortions frequently set Poles against each other.

The Second National Conference of PZPR Delegates, Warsaw, 5 May 1989.

Opposition's View of Poland Rejected

AU2405141389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 May 89 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "Poland the Way It Is"]

[Text] A tribe of ragged and emaciated beggars, living among mushrooms and ravaged by disease, inhabits the area between the Bug and Odra Rivers. The earth bears no fruit, industry produces only fumes that poison the environment. The people live in terror and slavery. And yet once this was a land flowing with milk, honey, and freedom. But then came the Red giant, who destroyed everything. Fortunately, a good fairy has appeared, who will reverse the country's fate as soon as she has chased the Red giant out.

This is a picture painted by a part of the opposition obviously not from real life, but from their imagination. Everyone here knows that the people's authority took over not a gleaming El Dorado, but heaps of ruins, and that these were not even the ruins of a developed economy and flourishing democracy. Everyone knows this, but does not always remember it because images like the above are imposed on one by force.

It is true that our life is hard. It is also true that there has been no shortage of mistakes, wrong decisions, and wasted chances during the past 45 years. This was a period that ruined and destroyed many people and many groups of people, a period when lawlessness was law and when court sentences were based on lies. No one denies this. But the Poland of 1989 is not a ruin, and the Poles of today are not slaves.

The blatant manipulation performed by a part of the opposition involves extracting from our long and complicated past only the bad chapters and saying: There. See what you have done. There is no need to look for those responsible, because we will show you who they are: the "Reds."

One feels tempted to shout out loudly: Let us not submit to this false melody. This indictment against the state is basically a slap in the face for society and its two generations, out of whose work Poland has grown and is still growing—a real Poland the way it is, with all its successes, failures, and pains, but also with its joys; a Poland that is neither "coalitional" nor "oppositional"; a Poland belonging to all the Poles who have toiled and are toiling for it.

Poland's Rakowski Pays Working Visit to Belgrade

Received by Markovic

LD2405173389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic Mieczyslaw Rakowski arrived in Belgrade today on a working visit to Yugoslavia.

At Belgrade airport, in Surcin, the Polish premier was met by his host, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], Ante Markovic.

Also present at the airport for Rakowski's arrival were Mustafa Nazmi, FEC member and federal secretary for trade; Zoran Miskovic, FEC general secretary; Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; Ratko Butulija, vice president of the Serbian Assembly Executive Council, and other officials.

Premier Rakowski was also met by the Polish Ambassador in Yugoslavia Czeslaw Piotrowski and members of the Polish Embassy in Belgrade.

Talks on Socioeconomic Reforms

LD2405224389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1933 GMT 24 May 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—The 1st day of talks between Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic were devoted almost entirely to respective briefing about domestic situation in Poland and Yugoslavia. The most attention was paid to economic and social reforms to which, the collocutors concluded, there is no alternative. Rakowski and Markovic noted many similarities in reform efforts, as well as differences which stem from specific circumstances in each country.

The Polish guest showed great interest in the Yugoslav Government's activity, in particular its measures which aim at reviving economic activity and accelerating development. The Council of Ministers chairman described the reform efforts aimed at injecting fresh blood in slightly sclerotic economic and social arteries, as aspiration to "new socialism."

The talks during the first day of the Polish premier's visit to Yugoslavia passed in an atmosphere of exceptional openness and cordiality and prominent mutual respect. [passage omitted]

Hungary's Gyula Horn Continues Official Visit

Exchanges Views With Jevtic

LD2405143589 Budapest MTI in English 1335 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 24 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, currently on an official visit to Yugoslavia, met Desimir Jevtic, prime minister of the Serbian Republic.

Their exchange of views is of special significance, since Serbia plays an outstanding role in Hungarian-Yugoslav cooperation. Last year, 63 per cent of the goods turnover of Hungarian companies in Yugoslavia was handled by Serbian companies. The majority of the country's Hungarian minority lives in the Voivodina Autonomous Province of the Serbian Republic.

In the course of the discussions, the sides termed bilateral cooperation to be satisfactory. Nevertheless, political relations fall short of the level of economic ties. A stand was taken for the wide-scale remedy of this. It was pointed out that cooperation could be expanded in the joint development of the machine and vehicle industries, water management and road transport.

The positive role of nationalities in fostering Hungarian-Yugoslav relations was a prominent item on the agenda of discussions. The further strengthening of connections between nationalities and their motherland, including the necessity for better meeting their cultural and educational needs, was also stressed.

Mr Horn extended the invitation of the Hungarian Government to his Serbian host. Mr Jevtich accepted the invitation.

At noon, Mr Horn was met by Janez Drnovsek, president of the collective State Presidency of Yugoslavia.

Meets With President Drnovsek

LD2405170889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—Today Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Dr Gyula Horn, foreign affairs minister of the People's Republic of Hungary, who is on an official visit to our country as a guest of the federal secretary for foreign affairs.

During cordial and friendly talks they exchanged views about numerous issues regarding domestic policy and development of the two country, as well as issues regarding the international situation, in particular regarding Europe. Minister Horn briefed President Drnovsek about the latest movements in Hungary, about political and economic reforms, which this friendly and neighboring country are implementing. He noted the efforts invested in restructuring the Hungarian economy and he

pointed to the importance of the process of democratization in all areas of Hungarian political life and to the interdependence of these two processes. He said that he expects that the reforms which have begun in Hungary will stimulate to the full extent creative and progressive forces of the country.

Both sides assessed the relations between the two neighboring and socialist countries as exceptionally close, good and based on firm foundations of friendship, which the developed economic cooperation and many-sided and diverse cultural and other ties show. It was stated that the reforms which are implemented in Yugoslavia and Hungary are similar in respect to their content and aims, and that it is in their mutual interest to exchange relevant experiences.

President Drnovsek briefed the guest about the latest measures within the framework of the implementation of the economic reform in our country, in particular with efforts aimed at halting the inflation and creating conditions for revival of economic activity which would result in building up a more efficient and modern economy. At the same time, he pointed to the social goal of the reform, its democratic and socialist content. Both sides expressed interest in a more active participation in the integration processes in Europe based on constructive cooperation and respect for specific development of individual countries.

President Drnovsek also talked about Yugoslavia's foreign policy activity, specially about the preparations for the upcoming summit of the nonaligned countries and expectations regarding that important meeting. Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, Hungarian Ambassador in Belgrade Saudor Gyoerke and SFRY Ambassador to Hungary Rudi Sova took part in the talks.

Speaks at Loncar-Hosted Lunch

LD2405165789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—Today Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, hosted a formal lunch in honor of his guest, Hungarian Foreign Affairs Minister Gyula Horn. Friendly words and wishes for a successful end of mutual endeavors were exchanged at the lunch.

Greeting Minister Horn on behalf of the Federal Executive Council and the present representatives of political, cultural and public life, the federal secretary stated that the visit of the honored guest comes at the important time when major changes are taking place and reforms are implemented in both Hungary and Yugoslavia.

From the fact that Minister Horn had chosen Yugoslavia as the first country to visit after his appointment, Federal Secretary Loncar concluded that Budapest is interested in Yugoslavia. Both countries, he stressed, place great importance on cultivation of mutual relations, which he described as "very stable and friendly."

There are many reasons why relations are good, among which are tradition and culture, which do not just "intersect but permeate each other." Similar reform efforts, whose aim is the creation of a healthy economy and democratic society also connect the two countries, Loncar stated.

Replying to the greeting, Minister Horn noted that neighbors and relatives cannot be chosen, but friends can. If we could choose, he stated, we would not want a neighbor other than friendly Yugoslavia, which we respect greatly.

Horn described the current events in Hungary as "the time of great revival." Talking about the scope and range of the changes, he said that "more changes happened" in the past few years "than in the past four decades." The Hungarian foreign minister also stated that Hungary has suffered frequently from outside assaults in the course of its history. Also bearing in mind Yugoslav experiences, we concluded that success of reforms does not depend solely on good intentions and wishes, but on persistance and steadiness, too.

It is very important for Hungary, Minister Horn noted, that neighboring countries realize how much they can help. In that sense, he assessed Yugoslavia's understanding and support as great "moral and political stimulus."

Horn also noted that he respected very much the openness of Yugoslav collocutors. The similarity of the troubles which we face and the decision to overcome them by reforms draws us to cooperate. We shall do everything possible, he concluded, to bring to life attempts at mutual cooperation.

Views Economic Reform

LD2405171189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1629 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJU)—FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic received today in Belgrade Gyula Horn, foreign affairs minister of the People's Republic of Hungary, who is in the visit to Yugoslavia. Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar took part in the talks.

Markovic and Horn judged that there are significant opportunities for further successful development of the cooperation between Yugoslavia and Hungary. They paid special attention to the reforms in particular in the area of economy, which both countries are undertaking.

Says Hungary Not To Leave Pact

LD2405172289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—Hungary does not want to leave the Warsaw Pact, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said today in Belgrade at the end of his visit to Yugoslavia.

In the Palace of the Federation, where he and his host Budimir Loncar met journalists, Gyula Horn said that "majority of parties which are not in power understand the government stand, that is, they understand that a Hungarian demand to leave the Warsaw Pact would have grave consequences."

The Hungarian minister added that his country is interested in participating in the ninth nonaligned summit in this September in Belgrade as an observer.

Gyula Horn also said that the status and respect for national minorities rights in Yugoslavia "can serve as an example to the world." The Yugoslav foreign minister added that the two countries have no mutual disagreements in this respect. He expressed satisfaction with the status of Yugoslav nations minorities in Hungary, and went on to stress that "there are always opportunities for achieving more and improving cooperation in that area."

Holds News Conference

LD2405202289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 24 (TANJUG)—There are no questions outstanding in relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia, and the position of each country's ethnic minorities in the other country can be regarded as exemplary of good-neighbourly relations, foreign Minister Gyula Horn of Hungary and Budimir Loncar of Yugoslavia set out at a press conference in Belgrade today.

At the press conference, held at the close of the Hungarian minister's two-day visit to Yugoslavia, Horn and Loncar said that their talks had brought to light the fact that potentials exist for still better cooperation between the two countries in all fields.

Horn noted with satisfaction that he had attained one of the most important objectives of his visit, namely, that Yugoslavia had put at Hungary's disposal a part of the archives relating to the 1956-1958 period.

Hungary is very interested in those documents as, according to Horn, there can be no progress in development and political reforms without analysing one's own past.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn said he hoped that regional cooperation within the Alps-Adria business community would contribute to Yugoslavia and Hungary joining in the European integration processes. The Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Loncar agreed with this assessment and added that such regional cooperation with neighbours was a forerunner of a trend which would develop further and contribute to surmounting differences and conflicts.

Asked by journalists to comment on the Warsaw Treaty organization's call for dissolving the two military blocs, Horn said that Hungary had on several occasions urged the same concept. He added, however, that Budapest did not wish to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, as that would have serious consequences both for Hungary and for Europe as a whole.

Gyula Horn further said that Hungary was interested in being given the observer's status in the Nonaligned Movement and would be glad to attend the 9th Nonaligned Summit in Belgrade in September in this capacity.

'Money-Laundering' Trial Harms Ties With U.S.

LD2405112989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0955 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Washington, May 24 (TANJUG)—The continuation of legal proceedings against Yugoslav Consul General Bahrudin Bijedic, the LBS Bank of New York Inc., a subsidiary of the Yugoslav Ljubljanska Banka, and LBS's former director Vinko Mir has done harm not only to Yugoslavia but also to relations between Yugoslavia and the United States, as the Yugoslav Government has pointed out.

The Yugoslav Government's position has been communicated to the U.S. Administration during a meeting between Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington Zivorad Kovacevic and Assistant U.S. Attorney-General Edward Dennis.

Ambassador Kovacevic, as TANJUG has learned, set out during the meeting that Yugoslavia had from the begging [as received] of the case displayed full confidence in the U.S. judiciary but that the later developments showed that the prosecutors had manipulated the grand jury of the federal court in Philadelphia into accepting the indictment.

The Yugoslav ambassador drew attention to the trumped up charges subsequently dropped by the prosecution and underscored that the Yugoslav citizens in question were drawn into the game although they had never given any cause for their honesty and integrity to be doubted.

Bijedic Mir and Ljubljanska Banka, as is known, have been charged with conspiring in a money-laundering crime, which was from the beginning a construction of U.S. custom investigation authorities. Yugoslavia has requested that experts of the U.S. Justice Department independently investigate the entire case, believing that the investigation will show that the indictment is unfounded.

Assistant U.S. Attorney-General Edward Dennis, as has been learned in Yugoslav diplomatic circles in Washington, told Yugoslav Ambassador Kovacevic that the U.S. Justice Department would study the case and give full attention to the arguments of both sides.

The trial of the Yugoslav citizens is to open in Philadelphia on June 12. A preliminary hearing at which the prosecution and the defense made their statements was held recently.

Markovic Discusses Anti-inflationary Measures

LD2405163189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has proposed measures in the area of credit and monetary policy which should help remove inflatory pressures due to growing irregular monetary trends, especially the excessive use of promisory notes, Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic told republican and provincial premiers today.

As an anti-inflation measure, the cabinet also proposes the adoption of a law allowing salaries to be payed on a monthly basis only.

Pressures in the monetary area, the government assessed, occur also as a result of increased surplus in trade with the area with a clearing system of payment and tardy collection of debts by banks. They are also a result of the forming of the exchange rate of the dinar by (?applying) only the criteria of removing disparity between Yugoslav and world prices, and not the supply on the hard currency market and trends in the balance of payments.

Markovic indicated also that the deadlines for using primary monetary issues to pay outstanding debts to foreign countries, loans guaranteed by the federation, and received from international financial institutions or on the basis of international agreements. [sentence as received]

The proposed anti-inflation measures will be submitted to the Federal Assembly after the federal government adopts them this week.

Trifunovic Expresses Gratitude on LC Election

LD2405144189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 24 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] When Bogdan Trifunovic expressed his gratitude for his election [as president of the Serbian League of Communists (LC) Presidium on 24 May] he said that the Serbian LC is firmly committed to social reform, new ideas, and new practice which will include successful economic activity and the efficient functioning of political institutions on democratic principles.

Hollow and malicious stories about neo-Stalinism and populist policies in Serbia cannot hold water for much longer and will be denied by everyday practice. We are aware that there is no economic reform without deep democratic political reforms which we pledge to implement through changing the electoral system, through bold reforms and rationalization in the areas of state and public sectors, through independent, open and responsible work of all state and other institutions and through respecting and expanding citizens' rights.

Reform of the LC is a vital and integral part of these democratic processes, Trifunovic continued, if the LC is to become a modern ideological and political organization which reflects the interests of the working class, of our society's working measures, with democratization within its own ranks and which stops being a part of the state mechanism.

We are neither for preserving the old nor for creating new party monopolies, Trifunovic said, stressing that the LC has to encourage reforms in all areas. However, these reforms must not be conducive to the creation of a multiparty system since the system of this type would exacerbate interethnic relations even further, sow further divisions in the country, and weaken the position of the socialist forces. At the same time it would halt the process of transformation in the LCY, driving back to the position of a traditional political party.

Dr Bogdan Trifunovic spoke about the enormous support for the Serbian leadership from a great majority of citizens of all nations and nationalities in the republic, from large work collectives, universities, scientific and cultural institutions, and the press. Trifunovic described as mistaken those both in the country and abroad, who are hoping for rifts and divisions to appear in Serbia and who expect, as they put it, the liberal Serbian intellegentsia to wake up and oppose the politicians. These people underestimate the level of unity achieved in Serbia, people's readiness to do their utmost to pull out of the crisis, to achieve equality and all-round progress both in its own republic and in Yugoslavia as a whole. This does not, of course, imply unanimity or absence of differences and of a democratic dialogue. On the contrary, it implies diversity of initiatives, proposals, and activities.

The newly elected president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium stressed that Serbia will continue to treat Kosovo as a priority issue and to give support to Kosovo LC in its efforts to implement a policy in the interests of all who live there, Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks. He said that important cadre and political changes are underway in Kosovo in line with the policy of the LCY and the Serbian LC, but he expressed concern at the fact that in some parts of Yugoslavia this has not been registered, or there is no will to register it.

Trifunovic also spoke about the economic reform emphasizing the republic's commitment to autonomy of enterprises and without state patronage, to the dominant status for social ownership with the existence of all other forms of ownership, to market laws, vital changes in the banking system, agriculture, small businesses, social welfare policy, housing, and so forth.

In conclusion Trifunovic thanked Slobodan Milosevic for his work at the head of the Serbian Party Presidium, stressing that Milosevic has made a crucial contribution to the successful outcome of the LC action and to the restored great trust of the people in the Serbian LC. Trifunovic also thanked Zoran Sokolovic, the secretary to date of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, for his principled, determined and involved work.

Kosovo Presidium Session Proceedings Reported
LD2405123389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1204 GMT 24 May 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 23 May (TANJUG)—Following the cadre renewal of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee, its Presidium and several municipal committees, we have approached more resolutely the implementation of the conclusions on normalizing the situation in the province. However, we have not yet settled final accounts with forces of nationalism [passage indistinct]. This is the key stance from today's expanded session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium (?chaired by) Rahman Morina, which discussed the implementation of ideopolitical differentiation in the LC and other sociopolitical provincial organizations and, bodies.

Proceeding from criteria regarding attitudes about the February strikes and the hostile March demonstrations, from responsibility for the wrong political activity which aggravated the situation, and from the halting of the LC action, hesitation and opportunism, the differentiation started this time from the party top. Nine members left the provincial committee presidium, seven were dismissed from membership to the provincial committee, and 20 tendered their resignation to membership to this forum.

According to the introductory speaker, Tomislav Sekulic, secretary of the provincial committee presidium, the differentiation has been frequently radical. To date, 169 members of municipal committees have been dismissed for various reasons, and 105 have tendered their resignations. A united core was formed in the Kosovo leadership, but it has not been spread to the extent required by the situation in Kosovo. A complete and consistent ideological differentiation has not been carried out at any level of the LC organization. According to Sekulic, this process is carried out incompletely in other organizations, bodies, and institutions, too.

Very little has been done in the provincial organs, the organs of the Kosovo Executive Council, the Kosovo Chamber of Economy, the banks, and the self-managing communities of interests. Not enough has been done in educational institutions, at the university, in the media, in organizations of associated labor. To illustrate the extent of resistance within the LC itself, in some localities and the institutions of social significance, Sekulic cited as examples the voting in the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for members of the provincial presidency, the debate at the last session of the Pristina University LC action conference which was seen as an attempt to discredit and question assessments made so far of the situation at Pristina University, and of an appeal by 215 intellectuals. He also included the status quo in RILINDJA and Kosovo Electricity Industry as examples. Some familiar centers, that is, hotbeds of activity from nationalist positions such as the university library, the archives of Kosovo, the Institute for History, the provincial council for education, the Institute of Albanology, and others have been maintaining a golden silence in expectation.

Sekulic also explained why there was a stop in differentiation and the causes for the resistance. The Albanian population, he explained, is still suspicious of the goals which the Kosovo LC is pursuing. They fear various pressures. The process of distancing Kosovo from its own republic and, by implication, from Yugoslavia lasted too long. As a result, integrational processes are now being seen as something imposed from outside. It is hard to replace the previous view: "the further from Serbia the better" with "the nearer to Serbia, the nearer to Yugoslavia". [passage omitted]

Knowing that for years officials pursued a policy of protectiveness, it is difficult to expect that now new initiatives leading to a united republic would be accepted wholeheartedly. For that reason many political moves leading to faster normalization of the situation in Kosovo are seen often as an outside pressure, and leaderships as imposed from outside. Although the LC's work is significantly different, communists and other organized socialist forces still do not interpret sufficiently the LCY policy to the people. The LCY policy is still not sufficiently accepted, and it is still insufficiently implemented. The political work of explaining LCY policy to working people and citizens, in particular to members of the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, and youth organizations, remains undone. The disastrous consequences of the complete lack of political work with the young generation of Albanians are still felt. [passage omitted]

Some still do not see that differentiation is a necessity. They do not understand that nothing can be done if the status quo remains, as well as old cadres and old views, which are partly reduced to the ossified bureaucratic consciousness, partly to the resistance to the LCY policy, partly to careerism and opportunism, and partly to blantant nationalism. Some understand the demands for differentiation as revanchism against Albanians, as gradual removal of Albanians from political and social life; some understand it as a showdown with Albanian intelligentsia and as deprivation of rights, Sekulic said.

Unsubstantiated claims are being circulated to the effect that, allegedly, Albanians are being replaced by Serbs and Montenegrins in certain posts, and that the Albanians in leading posts have no support among the people and should thus not be followed. Sekulic said these are all well-tried methods of blocking any action, for maintaining the status quo with which no one is satisfied, and which can cause fresh troubles. People in many localities refuse to accept the fact that the current action in Kosovo is designed to facilitate the implementation of a Yugoslav policy which would secure a peaceful, safe and equal life in the province. [passage omitted]

Serbs and Montenegrins in some localities are justifiably dissatisfied at the pace of differentation and as a result, are beginning to feel uneasy and impatient. This makes the situation even more difficult. Some are again calling for the familiar method of activity which ignores legal sociopolitical structures. This is unacceptable and in present circumstances can be fatal because it can force us back to the previous position and the "dead heat" of sometime ago. Demands and statements made from single-nationality positions coupled with the feeling of impatience can deepen interethnic distrust even further.

How the situation in Kosovo will develop depends largely on the behavior of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and in Serbia, Sekulic said. A large amount of political common sense, patience, and tact is needed if the executive powers are to be carried out on the entire territory of the republic in line with the new constitutional amendments. Sekulic drew attention to the continued lack of understanding in some parts of the country for what is being done in Kosovo. This became evident at the last session of the LCY Central Committee, the secretary of the provincial committee presidium specified. Divisions in the country, and especially among the leaderships, hamper our work on differentiation, in particular, and threaten to drive us back to where we started. Issues, settled and explained long ago, are being raised again, and those acting from positions of nationalism are again being encouraged while at the same time genuine champions of equality, brotherhood, and unity in Kosovo are being discouraged. This is causing fresh divisions among people, has prompted many to start thinking about leaving Kosovo, has given rise to uncertainty and has raised interethnic distrust to a dramatic level. [passage omitted]

At the session it was also noted that claims and interventions to the effect that differentiation is allegedly directed against Albanians and that it endangers their position are unacceptable and politically damaging. This was pointed out by Jusuf Zejnulahu, stressing that these are the theses of Albanian separatists. He advocated a fast and efficient implementation of differentiation at all levels and stressed the still tough resistance from bureaucratic and nationalistic structures. He noted that the process of ideopolitical differentiation in Kosovo has until recently practically not even started.

Jusuf Karakusi, provincial secretary for internal affairs, spoke in favor of undertaking legal and criminal measures against organizers and those who inspired the March demonstrations. At the same time, Karakusi believes, it is necessary to undertake ideopolitical-measures against the participants in the November gatherings and demonstrations and the February strikes. He commented that these measures are also being undertaken against those who expressed solidarity with the demands of Trepca miners but not against the organizers of these events. [passage omitted]

Concluding a several-hour-long debate, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, first explained the essence of ideopolitical differentiation in this province. We wish, he said, to thwart counterrevolutionary activity by organized social forces which in March threatened to get out of control and to turn itself into a political and interethnic disaster with unforeseeable consequences for the entire country. We wish to eliminate the atmosphere of divisions and confusions, to remove its protagonists from the political scene. [passage omitted]

Why are there delays with differentation in provincial organs, the Executive Council, Kosovo Assembly, Chamber of the Economy, in banks and self-managing communities of interest, electric power industry, at the university, university library, Institute for History, in the pedagogical council of the province, Institute for Albanian studies, Pristina Television and RELINDJA, Morina asked. At the same time he pointed out that not enough had been done in the process of ideopolitical differentiation in a number of municipal LC committees and their leaderships. He also mentioned resistance in educational institutions and at Prisina University and noted the resoluteness of the Kosovo LC and its leadership to persist in the initiated process of ideological differentiation.

Mosevac Hunger-Strikers Depart for Sarajevo

LD2405050889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 23 (TANJUG)—A group of villagers who staged a four-day hunger strike in a park facing the federal parliament in Belgrade, protesting at the behaviour of local authorities in their village of Mosevac in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, tonight decided to go to Sarajevo, capital of their home republic.

After a four-year dispute with the local authorities amid allegations of mismanagement of public funds and police harassment, a group of some 70 villagers came to Belgrade to seek protection. While waiting to be received by federal officials, because they have no trust in republican functionaries, they staged the hunger strike.

A three-member delegation today saw the leadership of the Socialist Alliance mass organization to air their complaints. The alliance leadership decided to take initiative for the earliest possible resolution of the Mosevac affair, including the release from prison of a fellow-villager who has been at the centre of the regrettable event since the beginning.

A spokesman for the group said they had been promised reception in Sarajevo tomorrow by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Obrad Piljak.

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